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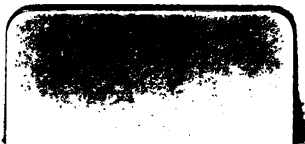
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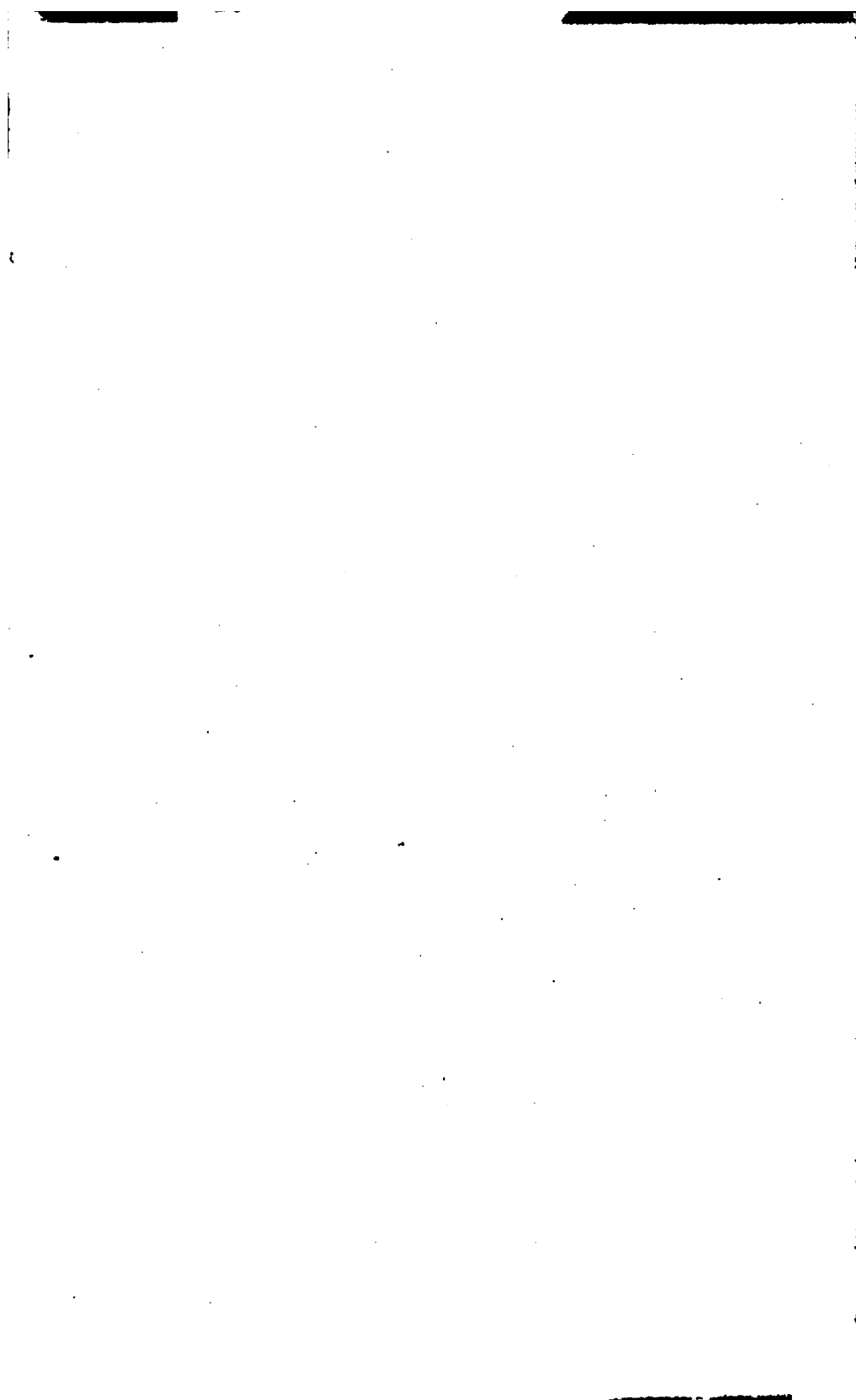
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Engraved by Henry Meyer from an Original Drawing by A. Buck.

John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. M.A. F.R.S.

London, Published Sept. 24. 1829, by R. Stodart, N^o 21, Strand.

AN
AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF
THE EVENTS
OF THE
WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

WHICH
COMMENCED ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19th,

AND

CLOSED ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3d, 1819;

INCLUDING

THE SPEECHES OF THE CANDIDATES,
SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, AND OTHERS.

TOGETHER WITH

THE REPORT

OF

The Westminster Reformers.



COMPILED

BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO MANAGE THE

ELECTION OF MR. HOBHOUSE.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY R. STODART, N^o. 81, STRAND.

1819.

*Gough Addrs Westminster
8.25.*

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TO THE FRIENDS OF

RADICAL REFORM.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

To you we dedicate our narrative of the events of the last Westminster Election. They have not as yet been represented as they actually occurred. The newspapers, even those whose appearance of impartiality on other subjects might have given them an air of authenticity on this occasion, notoriously perverted many facts, which though of minor importance individually, formed, when collectively taken, the true character of the Election. Such a perversion is not to be charged, generally speaking, upon the Reporters, who, if left to themselves, would faithfully discharge their laborious functions:—but it is to be charged to the proprietors of the Journals. The leaning of these proprietors to the aristocracy and their dependents, and the gross violation of all truth by the Whig conductors of the Morning Chronicle, served to communicate to those who were never in Covent Garden during the Election, a completely erroneous impression of the scenes there passing: and it is natural to believe, that excepting the partial disclosure of facts by the conductors of the liberal Sunday papers, and also by those of some of the Provincial papers, who seem to have understood the real nature of the question at issue, there has been a delusion spread amongst the people, which still continues to operate perniciously to the great interests of the nation, and to the cause of Reform.

The silence of most of the daily Journals, which are usually supposed to be devoted to liberal principles, during the whole of the

three months previous to the contest, facilitated the misrepresentations of the party opposed to the people; and to remedy this defect, we have thought it advisable to prefix an account of the proceedings connected with the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse. The same desire of counteracting the effects of calumnies hitherto uncontradicted, has induced us to intersperse the account of the Election with such remarks as may serve as a supplement to the partial answers which Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett gave on the Hustings, to the attacks more particularly levelled against themselves. The materials for this exposure of facts have been drawn only from authentic sources; and we may safely defy the denial of a single statement contained in the ensuing pages. The speeches have been compiled with the utmost care. Those of Mr. Hobhouse we have been enabled to give nearly word for word as they were delivered; a Reporter having been employed at the time for the purpose of enabling the Committee to circulate such speeches as they might deem more peculiarly necessary for the furtherance of their cause. The speeches of the Whigs and of their coadjutors, have been given from the *Morning Chronicle*, which we presume to be the fairest mode of proceeding which we could adopt. We may with perfect security appeal to every spectator of the scene at Covent Garden for the truth of every word which accompanies our account of the manner in which those speeches were received by the PEOPLE. The propagation of fiction must be superfluous to those whose cause has suffered by delusion alone, and who require no other justification than a simple narrative of facts. Wishing success to our mutual cause—the cause of all England—the cause of human nature—
We are

Your affectionate fellow-labourers,
the Committee appointed
to manage the Election
of Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Westminster,
July 26, 1819.

AN

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

THE lamented death of Sir Samuel Romilly occurred on November 2, 1818, but the circumstance was not generally known until the next day. After the first consternation produced by that distressing event had partially subsided, the attention of the Electors of Westminster was naturally directed to the vacancy in their representation, and the Reformers were solicitous to provide a colleague worthy of being seated by the side of Sir Francis Burdett. It was generally supposed, that Sir Murray Maxwell, having procured 4,808 votes at the last election, would be proposed by the court party; and it was conjectured, that the Whigs also might wish to retain the seat they had lately obtained in Westminster. The Reformers, therefore, held a meeting on Thursday, the 5th of November, and, after some consideration, determined that a public meeting should be convened, as speedily as might be consistent with their respect for their deceased representative. In order to secure the tranquillity of the meeting, it was resolved, that Sir Francis Burdett should be invited to take the chair: for it had been seen on more than one occasion, that without the interposition of some authority, such perhaps as Sir Francis alone for many years has been able to acquire in a large popular assembly, it would be very easy for a few designing individuals to interrupt the proceedings, and finally dissolve any public meeting. A few partizans of Mr. Paull in 1807, and latterly some twenty friends of Mr. Hunt in 1818, had broken up an assembly of more than a thousand Electors, and it was, if possible, to provide against a similar disturbance, that the Reformers agreed to request Sir Francis Burdett to take the chair. This, and this only, was their motive for writing to him the following letter:—

“ Westminster, November 5, 1818.

“ Sir,—A great public duty has again devolved upon the Electors of Westminster. The death of Sir Samuel Romilly, your honourable colleague, which the national grief proclaims to be a

national calamity, is, in no point of view more to be deplored, than as it will again expose the Electors of Westminster to the menaces of power and the arts of corruption; the patrons and propagators of slavery will unite, and their first effects will be to divide the friends of freedom. To provide against so insidious an endeavour, it seems that a simple remedy may at once be applied. We are agreed on our principles, it remains only to agree upon the person whom it may be expedient to choose, as an honourable and efficient advocate of those principles. For this purpose, it has appeared to the undersigned absolutely indispensable to consult the opinions of a general meeting of their brother electors, as early as may be consistent with their feelings of regret for the loss of their late illustrious representative. With the same object, we beg leave to request, that you, Sir, in the capacity of an elector of Westminster, will attend, and take the chair, at the proposed meeting of your fellow-citizens, who, by the experience of many years, are fully able to appreciate the firm impartiality with which you have presided over their most important deliberations. Difficult, indeed, will it be to select an individual qualified to become the coadjutor of Sir Francis Burdett; but the more arduous the task, the more need have we of your assistance, and the more earnestly do we hope, that you will comply with a requisition which we know to accord with a great majority of your constituents and fellow-citizens.

"We beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

"With the utmost respect," &c.

This was accompanied by the signatures of about one hundred and fifty electors.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT accepted the invitation, and notified his consent in the following terms:

"Kirby Park, November 9, 1818.

"Gentlemen—On my arrival here, I found a numerous signed requisition from the City of Westminster, requesting that I would take the Chair at a Meeting intended to be held for the purpose of considering what, under the distressing circumstances, in which a recent misfortune has placed us, is most advisable to be done.

"I lose no time in expressing my readiness to accede to the Requisition, and in assuring the Electors of Westminster, that I consider it a pleasure, as well as a duty, to obey their call whenever they judge me capable of rendering them any service.

"With respect to the cause, the sad cause, which has created the necessity of a fresh struggle for the independence of Westminster, it would not be proper for me to say more at present, than that I share, with every honest heart, in the common grief; an event so

unlooked for and overwhelming brings home at once to our bosoms the poignant anguish of private affliction, and deep sense of public calamity.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

The public meeting was then fixed for the 17th of November, and was announced in the usual forms by the following advertisement,—

"WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

"In consequence of the much-lamented death of our late Representative, Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, a PUBLIC MEETING will be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on *Tuesday next*, the 17th instant, at Twelve o'clock,

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart. in the Chair,
to consider of a fit and proper Person to be put in Nomination to represent this City in Parliament.

November 11, 1818."

Bills were posted, and every means used which might give the greatest possible publicity to the proceeding, and collect, with the utmost fairness, the opinions and wishes of the popular portion of the Electors of Westminster, respecting the person whom they might wish to put forward on this important occasion.

No public notice had as yet been given by any party of the individual whom they might prefer: whether or not the Whigs would put a candidate of their own to the test of the meeting, was doubtful; but a paragraph which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* shewed that they were determined to lose no time in putting in their *caveat* against any proceedings emanating from the Reformers, who were now designated as the "*extreme faction*." The article appeared in that paper on Thursday, November 5th, as follows:—

"We see with surprise that some of the eager partizans of the two *extreme factions in Westminster*, have had the indecency to commence a canvas for the representation of the City, though the body of the late illustrious Member lies unburied, and though no election can take place for more than two months to come.—This outrage on decorum has produced the effect which it deserves—it has incensed all the liberal and independent electors, whose hearts sympathize with the feelings of the family of their departed friend—and who know that a proper time will come for selecting a person in whose talents and integrity they can have confidence—though they are well aware that it will be impossible to find the equal of the deceased."

The Reformers turned their attention to Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, the gentleman proposed at the last election, and it was generally supposed that he would be the candidate nominated at the public meeting; but it was decisively resolved to await the decision of the public meeting, and to abide by that decision. Those gentlemen who had been most actively concerned in conducting the election of Sir F. Burdett, determined to give no pretext to the idle clamours of those who imputed the nomination of the Reformers merely to a junta; they determined that although the first selection must necessarily come from comparatively a small number of electors, yet that the selection should at once be submitted to as large a body of their fellow citizens as possibly could be collected together, and that any other body of electors might have the same opportunity with themselves of submitting a candidate of their own for the choice of the general body.

It was not until the evening preceding the 17th understood that Mr. Kinnaird had declined becoming a candidate, and the Reformers had then to consider whom they should propose to the meeting of the next day. It was *then unanimously* resolved, that Mr. Hobhouse should be the man. No sooner had this resolution been taken, than one of the principal persons, the chairman of the late committee, communicated the circumstance to Mr. Wishart, the elector generally supposed at the head of the Whig interest in Westminster. The cause of this communication was the fact that during the period in which it was believed Mr. Kinnaird would be the candidate, certain of the leading Whigs in Westminster, but more particularly Mr. Wishart and Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle had declared that if Mr. Hobhouse were proposed, the Whigs would not oppose him, but that they were resolved to oppose Mr. Kinnaird. This circumstance did not at all weigh with the Reformers; for had not Mr. Kinnaird himself declined, he would certainly have been proposed; and the reason why the Reformers turned immediately to Mr. Hobhouse, had no relation whatever to any supposed regard of the Whigs for that gentleman. His own conduct at the last election, and his professed political opinions as to the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE of *Reform*, were the sole causes of his being selected for the representation of the city. It was thought, however, expedient and right to inform Mr. Wishart of the choice. That elector chose to retract his former opinion, and declared that it was his intention to nominate Lord John Russell. This information convinced the Reformers at once that they should have to fight the battle perhaps against the Court and against the Whigs, but certainly alone and without any help from the purses or the persons of the Aristocracy; they however imputed no blame to the Whigs for their resolution of attending the public meeting, and proposing their

candidate, according to the true spirit of popular elections, to the people at large.

On the sixteenth, late in the evening, Sir Francis Burdett arrived in London, but neither Sir Francis nor Mr. Hobhouse were made acquainted with the intention to nominate Mr. Hobhouse until eight o'clock on the morning of the public meeting.

On that morning for the first time appeared a requisition of certain electors, asking Sir Murray Maxwell to come forward; as also the answer of that gentleman, accepting the invitation under certain conditions. The requisition and the answer were as follows:—

“ WESTMINSTER VACANCY.—Those friends of “ Liberty, Order, and Virtue United,” whose support of the gallant though basely used Sir MURRAY MAXWELL, in the late contest, demonstrated an anxiety to restore to its former respect the representation of this great City, are warned to be upon their guard against the tricks of Faction, of Vote-Jobbers, and Jacobins; and to rest in perfect confidence, that the unexampled abominations recently perpetrated at the hustings in Covent-garden have not so far prevailed as to deter the starting, in due season, of a Candidate fitted by old English principles for preserving, instead of pulling down, the venerable fabrick of the British Constitution—for all measures necessary to the success of whom there is yet time abundant.

Westminster, Nov. 12, 1818.

“ WE, the undersigned Electors of Westminster, deeply and unfeignedly deploring the melancholy event which has occasioned a Vacancy in the Representation of this City, are anxious to take the earliest opportunity of manifesting the high sense we entertain of your public conduct, whether in maintaining the honour and interests of Britain on the ocean, or in supporting the genuine principles of our invaluable Constitution at home. With this view we beg leave earnestly, and with a full confidence of your meeting with the zealous support of every Elector desirous of upholding the true interests of his country, to request that you will again come forward as a CANDIDATE TO REPRESENT this CITY IN PARLIAMENT.

J. Alexander	R. W. Bampffield	Geo. D'Almaine
R. Allen	Lancelet Burton	H. Elliott
Geo. Beaumont	Benjn. Caldwell	Chas. Finch
Chas. Beman	John Channier	Geo. Farrant
Geo. Brown	C. M. Cheere	Isaac Fisher
Chas. Baxter and Co.	R. G. Clarke	Chas. Fincham
John Beck	D. J. Clarke	Garden and Stratton
Saml. Berry	J. L. Curlewis	J. S. Greenwood
F. Bourdillon	Geo. Duckett	John Harris

Chas. Wm. Hallett	Joseph Neeld	Robt. Tate
John Hinchcliff	Wm. Nurse	R. Thomas and Son
John Humphries	Joseph Nutting	John Thomas
Samuel Hanam	J. M. Ommaoney	Richd. Twining, jun.
Henry Hennah	Wm. Parker	J. A. Twining
Jas. Jackson	J. C. Parker	John Thresher
Robert Joy	Thomas Ponsonby	J. M. Thatcher
Thos. Jones	J. Robins	John Hy. Taylor
Robt. Low	Jas. Read	Alex. Tulloch
John Marshall	Wm. Skeate	John Willock
Jas. M'Donnell	W. Simmons	Henry Winchester
John Moore	P. Storr	Wm. Winchester
Wm. Maude	Jas. Sant	Chas. Webster
J. Mills	J. T. Setchel	Giles Wakeling
Robt. Mann	Alex. Sutherland	John Wilson
Thos. Maude	R. Sparrow	Anthony Wagner
Geo. H. Malme	A.R. Sutherland, M.D.	
Wm. Monkhouse	Jas. Sutton	
To Capt. Sir Murray Maxwell, R. N.		

" Gentlemen—The highly flattering invitation you have been pleased to honour me with excites in my mind deep and conflicting emotion.

" But a short period of time has elapsed since I was contending within the liberties of your great city for the distinguished privilege in question, against the eminent individual, towards whom, if any feelings of animosity, springing up in the heat of contest, did for a moment exist, they must now, with painful contrition, be buried in that tomb so mournfully interesting to all the tenderest sympathies of humanity.

" Unusual events having attached such general publicity to the pretensions on which I then stood forward in Westminster, I feel encouraged to accept with confidence your kind solicitation for my again becoming a Candidate.

" Provided, gentlemen, that you and those electors who uphold the Constitutional principles on which I stand, should be pleased to support me, not sufficiently recovered from the serious effects of the recent contest to admit contributing either personal or pecuniary aid in the ensuing Election; and with sentiments of infinite respect and esteem,

" I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

" Your sincerely obliged and faithfully devoted servant;

" MURRAY MAXWELL."

" *Holme Cottage, Richmond, Nov. 16, 1818.*"

" To the Independent Electors of Westminster, &c. &c. &c."

Between twelve and one o'clock the great room of the Crown and Anchor Tavern was nearly filled, and Mr. Hunt had, as usual, taken his seat at the table, and had commenced a prefatory harangue to the assembly. At one o'clock, Sir Francis Burdett, accompanied by Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Clarke, and about fifty of the electors principally concerned in the intended nomination entered the room. At that moment it was not at all known to the assembly who was to be proposed. Mr. Kinnaird's communication had not been made public. Some thought that Major Cartwright would have been mentioned, especially as his friend Mr. Clarke, and also Mr. Wooler, were present. Certainly the room was open to all persons, and persons of all parties were present, as appeared by the subsequent proceedings. Even some of Sir Murray Maxwell's supporters were recognized in the crowd, which exceeded the numbers usually present, and amounted, it is supposed, to fifteen hundred persons.—Sir FRANCIS BURDETT having taken the chair, rose, and opened the meeting—

“Sir FRANCIS observed that the public advertisement which had brought them together clearly explained that it was in consequence of the recent loss which they had sustained, and the necessity of supplying it. The occasion was undoubtedly most important, at the same time that the circumstances which led to it were awful and distressing. Before, however, he proceeded to the business of the day, he thought it right to disclose the contents of a letter which he had received from a gentleman who had considerable claims to their favour; and who would probably have been, in the event of his coming personally forward, the object of their choice. The gentleman to whom he alluded was Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, who had withdrawn himself entirely from their consideration as a candidate, by a statement which he was requested to communicate to them; and in which Mr. Kinnaird regretted that engagements, which he felt to be binding on him, would prevent his attendance at this meeting, and deprive him of the opportunity of paying his tribute of respect to the memory of their late representative, and of mixing his own with the general grief. The letter went on to say, that as his name might probably be mentioned, it was his earnest wish to have it made known as early as possible; that his duties towards the citizens of Westminster must be limited, as heretofore, to the character of an elector. As, therefore, (resumed Sir F. Burdett) this gentleman had placed himself out of the question, it was incumbent on them to consider what other person it might be most advisable for them to nominate, in order to fill up the vacancy left by the death of their late lamented representative. It would be improper for him, in the situation which he now held, to offer any opinions of his own, with regard to the personal quali-

fications of individuals. It was his duty to attend to all that might be offered, and to collect impartially the sense of the room upon every proposition that should be submitted. It was not to be concealed that they were in a state of some danger; and of danger arising from a circumstance somewhat singular. The first difficulty which they had to surmount was not a want, but a variety of choice. Five or six names had already been mentioned to him, each of which he had reason to believe belonged to a man of independent and unexceptionable character. All appeared to him equally eligible; all had frequently been before the public eye, and were, he had not the shadow of a doubt, animated with the same spirit, prepared to answer the wishes of their constituents by faithfully discharging their own duty. They must be cautious, therefore, lest the embarrassment of their wealth itself should turn out to be the source of their weakness. (*Loud applause.*) It might be proper to remind them, that they incurred the risk, amidst all this variety, of disunion amongst themselves; and that the probable consequence of this disunion would be, that some Government tool would be forced upon them, to the lasting disgrace of Westminster, and to the damping of that spirit, and retarding that progress of reform, for which they had so long, and he hoped not ineffectually contended. (*Renewed applause.*) With regard to their late representative, he found it impossible to pass over this opportunity of testifying at once his grief and his respect. To them, the electors of Westminster, as well as to the country at large, the loss which they had sustained was the more unfortunate, inasmuch as it was the loss of a man possessing the highest abilities and the purest character, at the moment which was best calculated to afford scope for the free play of his talents and integrity. He had been placed by their suffrages in a situation which would have enabled him to follow up his own enlightened schemes for the public good, without yielding to the authority of inferior minds, or finding his great exertions checked by the influence of party. Of this able and deeply lamented coadjutor, he had been deprived, under circumstances, and at a time, when, although for his own honour and credit with posterity, and with reference to that measure of good which he had previously rendered to his country and to mankind, he had lived long enough, yet, nevertheless, at a time when, although his own glory was sufficiently established, he had it in his power to be of more service to the public than perhaps any other man. (*Applause.*) He had died full of honours for himself, leaving his countrymen filled with admiration and regret, and a name behind him which never could be mentioned without a sigh. (*Applause.*) In disburdening themselves, however, of their sense of this calamity, so far as to undertake the discharge of the duty which had devolved on them, it should

still induce them to regard, with a more scrutinizing eye, the claims of every one who might be proposed to fill up so great a chasm. Above all things, he was desirous of impressing on their minds what he had touched upon at the outset of his address—that the difficulty consisted not in the paucity of those who were perfectly qualified to represent them, and might probably be submitted to their choice; but in selecting one from many, all of whom were possessed of claims equally satisfactory and indisputable. In the conduct of this selection it was that, unless they should act with unanimity, and rally around one individual, they would incur the hazard, if not the certainty, of a defeat by the influence of Government. (*Applause.*) Such was his respect for the several individuals whose names had been transmitted to him, that he could sincerely declare his opinion to be, that if those names were put in a ballotting box, the first that might be drawn would be a very proper person to serve as their representative. But as some choice must be exercised, their first care should be to preserve unity amongst themselves. When one name was adopted, he hoped they would all steadily adhere to it, and that the friends of liberty would not again suffer themselves to be divided. (*Applause.*) Their grand and paramount interest on this occasion was to exhibit to the world a spirit of unanimity, both with a view to the preservation of their own character, and in order to prevent that dreadful evil to which disunion would necessarily lead—the debasement of their city, and the triumph of a venal and corrupt administration. (*Loud applause.*) Appealing, therefore, now to their indulgence, for having so long trespassed on their attention, he would proceed with the business of the day. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. BRUCE observed, his object in now rising was to state, that he knew no man more capable of supplying the loss, and of maintaining with energy the same principles, than the gentleman whom he was about to nominate. He was known to them all by his active and unwearied exertions during the last election, in support of their Hon. Chairman, by the talents and promptitude displayed on more than one occasion, and by an eloquence which promised to render him one of the brightest ornaments of the Senate. After the first resolution therefore, which he held in his hand, and which expressed in general terms the purpose for which they were then assembled, it was his intention to submit a second, proposing John Hobhouse, Esq. as a fit and proper person to represent the city of Westminster in Parliament. (*Applause.*) Nothing but a sense of public duty, and he was not ashamed to state, in conjunction with that of private friendship, could have induced him to put that gentleman in nomination. But it did appear to him, that qualified as he was by literary talents, by general knowledge, and by zeal for their cause, they

could not, on their part, perform a greater service to that cause than by giving him their unanimous support. (*Long continued applause.*)

Mr. THELWALL begged it to be known that he was not actuated by any feeling of hostility to Sir Francis Bardett. When, after a long absence, an old acquaintance appears once more among his former friends, he may be excused for adverting to the circumstances which have kept him so long out of view. Twenty-one years had now elapsed since he withdrew from public notice, after having fought his way through bands of ruffians who wished to murder him. He then made a resolution not to interfere with political opinions in public, unless he should find himself independent from his professional exertions, or some public emergency should require that life itself was not too dear to be laid down in the public service. The first of these contingencies had been prevented, he believed, by the political feelings which he was known to cherish in private; and as to the second part of the dilemma, he believed that there was at present an emergency which affected every individual in the nation. If we look abroad, what do we see but an illegitimate bond of legitimacy, which links allied sovereigns against the freedom of their people? But while we look abroad, let us not forget to look at home. What do we see but an attempt to establish military power? I believe I must not call it military despotism; that perhaps would be treason, and I do not wish to commit that crime again. (*A laugh.*) The situation of the country at this moment is of extreme importance. It is a reason why a man who has been silent for 21 years should open his mouth. (*Signs of impatience, and cries of "Question."*) If he deviated from the question, the Chair would call him to order. It was necessary to attend to the state of parties, particularly in Westminster. They could not have forgotten the proceedings at the late election. The division of the friends of liberty on that occasion had distressed him more than the loss of his own liberty had done. (*Cries of "Question."*) These divisions had threatened even the return of their old and faithful representative, the honourable Chairman, and the only independent member in the House. They obtained, indeed, a great victory ultimately, by returning him; but the effort was too late, because it did not put him in his proper place, at the head of the poll. (*Applause.*) Let them now take care, that the organized and drilled band of corruption did not rout the light infantry of reform, while divided and scattered. It appeared to him that the most certain mode of securing success would be, unanimity in favour of a person who would pledge himself to vote against the Minister. His own principle was, that if we cannot have a quatern, we should take a twopenny loaf rather than starve. Nothing is politically desirable but what is morally possible. Therefore let us take what we can get. We are the rallying point of

reform, to which all the Reformers through the kingdom look for an example. Who can co-operate with us? All who hate military power; even the Whigs themselves, who are true to their principles. If we find a man who will act up to his principles, whatever degree of reform he pledges himself for, let us support him. But if we have divisions, the Minister will triumph; and, oh! what a triumph will that be! The biscuit-baker of the Minister will reproach us for returning a tool of Government. (*Applause.*) He would conclude with one word of advice. If there is a man who will attach himself to a leader of whom he knows nothing, but from whom he expects to receive his hire, let him excite divisions. If there is a man who has the love of his country in his heart, and who is anxious for reform, let him endeavour to preserve unanimity.

Mr. HOBHOUSE now rose and spoke to this effect:—

Gentlemen,—This morning I received a request from a respectable body of the Electors of Westminster to attend the present meeting: had I not been so invited, I should not have presumed to be here, for I am not an elector. Such a request, and the resolutions you have just heard, I can attribute only to those exertions, humble indeed, but zealous, which I was permitted to add to those noble efforts that secured your triumph in the late contest for the independence of this great city. The last occasion of our meeting was on the eve of a victory; we are now as it were following a funeral. It was then much less embarrassing for me to address you: what I then had to say was on your behalf; I am now to speak on a subject, on which of all others I am the least qualified or inclined to enlarge—on myself.—Electors of Westminster, you have heard me nominated to succeed the great man whom you have just lost; what may be the issue of that nomination I will not presume to foretell. The cause is your own; you are the best judges, and are most interested, as to the choice of the person who is to be the advocate of that cause. A friendly voice from amongst you has asked, who is he? I must answer this question negatively. I am not arrayed in the attractions which belong to many of the candidates for popular confidence: I am allied to no great family either by blood or connexion: I am the child of no party: I am the champion of no individual interests. On the other hand, I may add, that I am not known to you by any real disqualification. If I have lived hitherto in private life, I have been at least saved from the commission of any of those delinquencies, of which, unfortunately for England, consists the notoriety of the greater part of our public men. Allow me, if you will, to be young and inexperienced; it is surely better that I should be your pupil, than (as would, perhaps, be the case with a veteran politician,) you should be my dupe.—I stand here before you, Electors, with nothing to recommend me but my principles.

What those principles are, I must presume to be known to the electors who proposed to nominate me, and indeed to all those with whom I had the honour to co-operate during the late election. To recapitulate all the articles of my political creed, is more than you would desire or I should think requisite for the present occasion. There is one point, however, on which I conceive it to be my duty to be explicit, and I would not desire that my silence should obtain me a single vote, of which an honest declaration might deprive me. Gentlemen, I am (since your notice allows me to give myself a name), I am a Reformer; and when I use that word, I will not mince the matter: I will profess myself to allude to that Reform, which may at once strike at the root of the evil that threatens the dissolution of all our liberties. I trust, Gentlemen, that in declaring myself a candidate, I do not infringe upon those principles of election purity which have secured the freedom and the triumph of Westminster. When the Honourable Chairman was proposed by the electors, and carried by them, in 1807, without any personal interference of his own, he had already been distinguished for a long course of political virtue, which rendered all previous intercourse between him and his constituents altogether unnecessary; but the case is far different with me. I have not the inordinate vanity to believe that my name circulated in a handbill, or chalked upon a wall, will at once give a key to my character, and bespeak the cause which I aspire to defend. It is my intention, therefore, to appear upon the hustings, that the electors may there demand of me what line of conduct it is my intention to pursue, should I be placed, by their suffrages, in Parliament; that they may there say to me,—“Mr. Hobhouse, what do you propose to do for us, should we return you? what are your opinions on this or that of the great political questions which so nearly concern all the electors and all the people of England?” To these, and to any definite questions, I shall think myself bound to give a sincere answer; for it appears to my judgment, that the clamour raised against what is called demanding a pledge, has no foundation either in theory or in practice. Surely every elector has a right to demand the opinions of any candidate to whom he proposes to give his vote; and from the statement of an opinion to the delivery of a promise to act upon that opinion, the distance is too small to be observed, except by the eye of casuistry, and the difference is too trifling to be acted upon except by a dishonest man. As for the practice, it is resorted to even by the very persons from whom the accusation proceeds; and if every borough patron thinks himself entitled to prescribe the conduct, and come to the thorough knowledge of the nominee, who is to represent his influence, shall not the freemen of Westminster demand what services they are to expect from him who is to represent their rights?

Gentlemen, you must do me the justice to believe, that I am not ignorant of the duties, of the difficulties, of the high office which it has been proposed to entrust to my hands ; you must believe that I know how arduous it will be to fill a place before occupied by illustrious men : you must believe that I feel what is required from one who presumes to be the coadjutor of such a man as your present representative—of him who has attained the confidence and good will of his fellow-countrymen, to an extent to which I verily believe, and speak it from my heart and my conviction, no other individual has ever had the happiness to arrive :—of him who has shewn us that public virtue is not a mere dream, nor the patriot one of those imaginary beings, whose existence must be confined to the fancied republics of the wise and good. But his example will rather aid than discourage me ; and by having before me the living lesson, I may the more easily be instructed : by seeing what he is, I may know what I ought to be. I am fully aware that amongst the motives that induce me to present myself to your notice, is to be ranked the wish to acquire the good will and even the applause of my fellow-citizens. I own it, gentlemen—nor does such a desire appear to me an infirmity to be ridiculed and decried by the world, any more than it is to be concealed by myself. Since I could form a rational hope—since my mind first began to expand itself to the limits, whatever they may be, which it is allowed to reach, my principal object, at least as far as this existence is concerned, has been to merit and to obtain the approbation of my countrymen. I speak, however, of that fame which alone an honest man would covet—which none but honest men can confer : I speak not of that short lived noisy repute, which begins where a truly valuable name should end, but of that reputation which an Englishman more than any man in the world knows how to prize—of that reputation which originates and spreads from the social circle, and like the genuine philanthropy defined by the poet, although it may, in the end, diffuse itself over the world, begins, in the first instance, at home. If there be any circumstance which diminishes the difficulty of the proposed enterprise, it may perhaps be found in the nature of the opposition which the Court has prepared against the assertion of your rights. You see, by an advertisement in the papers of this morning, that Sir Murray Maxwell is again chosen to be the instrument of the ministerial endeavours to convert this great portion of the metropolis,—this your city of Westminster,—into a cinque port—to reduce you to the degraded condition of an Admiralty borough. I find Sir Murray Maxwell openly confessing that his purse and his person are in no condition to admit of his own interference on this second trial. I would not be supposed to make a mockery of the sickness of any man, least of all of that of the gallant Captain : but as he has been honest enough to tell us

by an implication not to be mistaken, that his pocket received some rude shocks in the encounter with the Freemen of Westminster, I shall as candidly own, that although I shall rejoice to hear of his bodily health, it would afford me equal dissatisfaction to be told of his pecuniary convalescence. It is not uncharitable to say, that I hope his purse will never recover from a disease incurred by an imprudence, to say the least of it, which that gentleman himself appears now to deplore. We should, however, thank him for his confession, as it plainly avows what were the means resorted to by this candidate to persuade the Electors of the propriety of returning him to Parliament. Without the slightest personal disrespect for that gentleman, I must say, that it appears to me altogether unaccountable that a gallant sea officer (for they are all gallant), one of those to whom we look for the best security of our liberties, should allow himself to be made the tool of the vilest and most contemptible administration that ever engaged in the unhallowed project of subverting the institutions, breaking down the spirit, and finally changing the character of our free and glorious islanders; and of assimilating them in manners, as well as in laws, to the barrack-bowed nations of the continent. His conduct does indeed appear to me to be quite incongruous with his character; he seems to forget that the hustings is not his quarter-deck; that he cannot introduce the discipline of a man of war amongst the Freemen of Westminster; and that he wears his uniform at Covent-garden with about as much propriety as one of you, Gentlemen, might venture to make a Crown and Anchor oration from the poop of the Captain's own frigate. We have heard much and have profited much by the bravery of British seamen, but I do think, Gentlemen, that Sir M. Maxwell is the boldest of the bold, when he again exposes himself to the indignation of all the friends of liberty in Westminster, and indeed in all England, and modestly requests you to surrender for his use, benefit, and promotion, a trust which has been for many years reposed in hands that have employed it solely for the protection of your rights and interests. I trust that his re-appearance will not be saluted by any thing harder than words, and that he will not be spoken to with sticks and stones: he must, however, be told the truth, since he exposes himself to hear it; and I must be permitted to say, that although as a gentleman and an officer he should be received with every deference, he is, as a candidate for Westminster, entitled to no respect, and, as far as language can correct his intrusion, should be treated with none. He knows as well as you do, that he is set up in opposition to the feelings of a very great majority of the Electors. He knows as well as you do, the disgraceful means used to fill his numbers at the late poll. My situation amongst you at the late Election brought me acquainted with those scandalous transac-

tions, and he shall be told of them at the re-election. But I forget, it seems, that the Captain himself will not come. I suppose, then, that he will at least send his First Lieutenant to the Hustings. Should you see any such person among you, you will, doubtless, show every attention to the cloth, but will regard the wearer with just such sentiments as the nature, and motive, and end of his enterprise may seem to deserve. Nothing, certainly, can be more striking than the contrast of the different grounds on which I am brought before you, and of those on which Sir M. Maxwell appeared at first, and again presumes to stand. He is sent by an odious and contemptible Government, to act for that Government, and against you. His opponent will be called for by you, to act for you, and against those wicked powerful men, who in fact are the only friends of Revolution to be found in this country. By them, has private confidence been shaken; by their spies and informers have all the bonds of social life been loosened or destroyed; the suspicions, the fears, the hatreds, which they spread into every circle, and amongst all classes, have filled these unfortunate kingdoms with discontent, confusion, and dismay.—Yes, Gentlemen, it is now, if at any time, indispensably necessary that you should do your utmost to counteract the encroachments of despotism, and infuse a new spirit into that once healthy constitution which vicious practices have reduced to the last stages of decay. The first and best expedient is to choose a man who shall fairly represent your opinions and speak your wishes. To give effect to your first selection, you should be sure that it is founded upon that union which you have heard recommended from the Chair. If in my person you should suppose that the best chance of resisting the efforts of power shall be found, I shall contribute every exertion to justify your choice: if now, or at any time previous to the contest, I shall ascertain that the struggle should be confided to other hands, I shall withdraw, in obedience to the only voice that, as a public man, I will ever obey,—that of the people.—Should I be elected, I shall be the work of your hands alone; to you alone shall all my gratitude be due; for you alone will every effort be employed. To you I shall look for support, for advice, for admonition, and for orders: for certainly, Gentlemen, if a Representative is not to represent his Constituents; if he is not to be the organ of their injunctions,—his name is misapplied, his office has been hitherto misunderstood. In your hands I leave the question, and retire from a discussion, during which I could not well be present without embarrassing you and distressing myself.

(During this speech, the Electors repeatedly evinced their approbation by loud applause, and at the conclusion, the room resounded with continued peals as Mr. Hobhouse retired.)

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now put the first resolution,

"That it is the imperative duty of the Electors of Westminster, to return to Parliament a man of known integrity, that he may there, by the side of our present excellent Representative, support the just claims of the people to Parliaments of a short duration, and to a full, free, and equal share in the choice of Representatives." It was carried unanimously.

Mr. JENKINS proposed W. Cobbett, Esq. as a fit person to represent them in Parliament. (*Great confusion.*)

Mr. HUNT presented himself, and infinitely increased the confusion.

The Chairman observed, that they would save time, as well as conduct the business of the day to a beneficial issue, by listening with fairness to every gentleman who addressed them; there would otherwise be neither usefulness nor respectability in their public meetings.

Mr. HUNT was still received with every ungrateful noise. He hoped it would never go forth that such an assembly had refused to hear an Englishman. He thought they ought to have known his character too well (*Much laughter and cries of "Yes."*) to suppose that he could be put down in ten minutes. It had been justly said, that their weakness was in division. He agreed in that opinion, and his object was to prevent division. His friends had intended to propose him, but his answer was "No; if no other man comes forward to resist Sir Murray Maxwell, I am at your service; but if any other person, on whom all agree, shall come forward, in God's name let me not interfere." He should speak of Mr. Hobhouse with freedom, with liberty; but he trusted with moderation. Was he any relation of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse? (*His son.*) Was he the son of that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse who, at a public dinner in that room, had kissed the hand of Lord Holland from veneration to Whig principles, and soon afterwards joined the present wicked administration? Was he the son of that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse who had been for so many years chairman of Mr. Pitt's committees? Was he the son of that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who had been a traitor to the cause of liberty, and gone over to the banners of slavery? Was he the son of that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who had 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* a year as Commissioner of the Nabob of Arcot's debts? He wished to ask likewise, what Mr. Hobhouse had been doing for the last ten years, and in what respect he had been of service to the people of Westminster? He was not desirous of visiting the sins of the father on his children, although this was one of the principles of the religion which he professed; but he thought it impossible that Mr. Hobhouse should unite their votes, or satisfy their expectations. A gentleman had proposed Mr. Cobbett, now an alien from his native land through the oppressive measures of the Government; and a man of greater abilities or political honesty

they could not elect—(*Hisses and groanings.*) Mr. Cobbett was, if they should think proper to support him, willing to undertake the task of representing their rights and interests in Parliament; and for the purpose of bringing that question to issue, he would second the nomination. (*Loud disapprobation.*) He would take this opportunity also of referring to a letter, read by Mr. Cleary on the hustings at the last election, and which purported to be a letter from Mr. Cobbett, in 1808, in which, speaking of him (Mr. Hunt), he was described as a sad fellow, who rode about the country with another man's wife, having deserted his own.

The noise and interruption were at this moment so excessive as effectually to stop the progress of the speaker's explanation.

Sir F. BURDETT entreated a patient hearing. He implored them to pay an impartial attention to what fell from every gentleman. It would give him infinite pain to find himself compelled to leave the chair, from his inability to maintain the order and decorum of their proceedings. (*Applause.*)

Mr. HUNT then resumed. It was not surprising, if, after the villainous attacks which he had borne, he was now desirous of vindicating himself from the foulest calumny of them all. Mr. Cobbett had declared publicly, through the medium of a Liverpool newspaper, that he had never written the letter in question, and that it was an entire forgery.

Mr. CLEARY stated that he had the letter in his possession, and would produce it before them in half an hour; and he immediately left the room for that purpose.

Mr. WISHART, after some observations on the virtues and public spirit evinced on so many critical occasions by the House of Bedford, proposed as a candidate for their suffrages, the second son of the present Duke, Lord John Russell. The electors of Westminster could not forget the interest taken in the maintenance of their rights by the late Francis Duke of Bedford; his personal exertions, or his willing attendance at their meetings, both there and in Palace-yard. The present Duke of Bedford had always supported the same principles, had always lent his aid to the election of their favourite representative, and had, by his contribution to Mr. Hone, and his uniform hostility to a bad Government, been recently deprived of the honour of the Lord Lieutenancy of his native county. With respect to Lord John himself, it was well known that he had made a speech in Parliament on the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, equally creditable to his head and his heart. It was proper for him, however, to state, that if their choice should appear to incline in preference to any other individual, Lord John was determined not to impede or interfere with the exercise of it. (*Applause.*)

Mr. THELWALL took this opportunity of saying, that the poli-

tical opinions of Mr. Hobhouse's ancestors could be no wise prejudicial to him (Mr. Hobhouse), since it was well known that he had been proscribed by his family on account of his independent sentiments. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. STURCH put a question of order.

Sir F. BURDETT explained. The first question was that alluded to by Mr. Sturch, namely, whether Mr. Hobhouse was a fit person to be returned; the second was the amendment proposing Mr. Cobbett; and the third was another amendment, proposing Lord John Russell. He thought it the fairest way to allow every person to propose any candidate he thought proper, and then to put the questions *seriatim*.

Mr. STURCH acquiesced, although he was not aware till now that Mr. Wishart's motion was an amendment. He must take up their time for a moment, while he stated that he had had no concern in calling this meeting. He was desirous that this should be known, because, during the last few days, he had received a great number of letters, advising him how to act on this occasion. He had been stopped by people in the street, who wished to know from him who was to be elected. It would appear from this, that some thought him a more important man than he really was. (*Question.*) He wished those who called for the question would ask themselves, whether, if they brought forward Mr. Hobhouse, they would fulfil the wishes of the electors of Westminster, and of the nation at large? He maintained that they would not. (*Disapprobation.*) He did not mean any thing against the talents or principles of Mr. Hobhouse, because he was ignorant of both. Till Mr. Kinnaird came forward, Mr. Hobhouse was unknown. He exerted himself also for Sir Francis Burdett; but he opposed Sir Samuel Romilly. He would not go the length of Mr. Hunt, in saying that the sins of the father should be visited on the son; but he must say that he had seen Mr. Hobhouse's father standing on a table, and making such a speech as Mr. Hunt has ascribed to him. He would maintain that the feeling of his being an untried man, would operate on the electors out of doors; and that if Government brought forward any Tory, whether Sir Murray Maxwell or any other person, and Mr. Hobhouse were the only candidate opposed to him, Government would triumph. He should conclude with one word of advice. He was aware that delays were dangerous; but precipitation was still more dangerous. He therefore recommended that they should not come to any decision at present, but allow the electors at least a fortnight longer to look out for a proper person.

Mr. PITT hoped that the electors of Westminster would act as a body, and not be led away by any set of men. He was as much against division as any one could be; and therefore he proposed, if they wished to keep out the Court candidate, that every elector, as

he quitted the room, should put down his name, in order to form a *broad and expanded* committee for the purpose of preventing disunion. Because Mr. Hobhouse comes here and makes a great display of talent, we are not to decide that he is the only proper person. He did not scruple to say, that the getting up of Mr. Hobhouse was a rank job.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT wished to know if any other person was desirous to address the meeting. (*Loud and repeated calls for Mr. Wooler.*)—Sir Francis said, he was desired by Mr. Wooler to state that he was not an elector, and that he had nothing to say on the question.

Mr. GALE JONES presented himself on the table, but was hooted off without a hearing.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT again addressed the meeting. His friend Mr. Sturch had advised them to pause, and not to come to any decision at present. Had he known, before he left the country, that he should travel to London for the purpose of deciding that nothing should be done, he should certainly have thought that he was going on what was commonly called "a fool's errand." What reason had they to delay? The *object* they had to consider *was not merely the election of a Candidate for Westminster*; no, *the object was the support of those principles for which he and they, for a period of twenty-five years, had been contending.* Mr. Sturch had been seconded in his advice of delay by Mr. Pitt, who had recommended the appointment of a committee on an extended principle. This plan, which is said to have the support of union for its object, is the very plan which the enemies of union would adopt. (*Applause.*) One principle which had been adverted to in the discussions of this day, reminded him of the fable, in which a hungry wolf, wishing to devour a lamb, and having no pretext for quarrelling with the innocent creature itself, very conveniently remembered that the parent of the lamb had once offended him. (*Loud applause.*) He could conceive no greater pledge for political integrity, than that a man of Mr. Hobhouse's warm heart—(*Chair, chair, from Mr. Hunt.*) He was bound to state such remarks as a sense of duty dictated. With regard to Mr. Hobhouse, he repeated, that no greater pledge of principle could be given, than that a man of tender feelings and warm heart should renounce the connexion and brave the displeasures of his family. To start obstacles, and to do nothing to obviate them, was not to do service to the cause. His youth, which had been objected to, would improve. There was no risk of disappointment in that. But there was no risk of his disappointing them as to the principles he had avowed there that day, and on a former occasion. It had been asked what he had been doing for the last ten years. He was, as every young man ought to be, laudably employed in improving his own mind. From that

pursuit he had been called to offer himself for a situation which he could not have expected; for it was only by a most unfortunate calamity that it was put within his reach. In cultivating his mind he had not cultivated a sterile soil. It had produced fruits to be judged of by Europe. He was not, therefore, unknown; and if he were, in these days of tergiversation, treachery, and intrigue, it was no small praise not to be known for combinations against the people. (*Applause.*) A gentleman had remarked, that we had no other motive for returning him but the eloquent speech he made. That was not a bad motive. The man who was to be their voice in another place should be qualified to speak eloquently. Let none assert that there were no proofs of his talents. Both his pen and his tongue had proved his talents, and he would dare always to maintain the principles which he had avowed. The pretensions of Mr. Hobhouse were not small; on pretensions alone he was equal to any that could be named. He knew but one individual superior in pretensions to Mr. Hobhouse, and that was Major Cartwright. It was not an invidious comparison that influenced him, but he felt for various reasons that it was impossible to carry Major Cartwright. (*Great applause.*) His admiration for him, for his excellent character, and for his unswerving exertions for the liberty of England and of Europe, was strong and unalterable. There was also Mr. Fawkes, of Yorkshire; and there was Sir Charles Wolseley, a Baronet, whom he rejoiced to see advocating the people's part, for there were not many of them (of the baronetage) who took this turn. Of Lord John Russell they knew not so much as of Mr. Hobhouse; but that Englishman's heart must be cold when the name of Russell, Sydney, and of Hampden ceased to operate as a charm. (*Applause.*) It had been asked if any had heard Lord John Russell's speech on the suspension. He had heard it, and paid to it at the time his tribute of applause and thanks. He had only one observation to make respecting Lord John Russell—he was already in the House of Commons. (*Applause.*) However highly he estimated the character of Francis Duke of Bedford, and however willingly he paid homage to the present Duke, he thought it better to send another to the House to fight by the side of Lord John Russell. (*Applause.*) The Committee had been accused of dictating. What was everybody's business was nobody's. The committee had no power or reward; they had nothing but the labouring oar. They could do nothing without their approbation; and but for them there would have been no meeting to-day. They suffered in their purses as well as in their persons. This he knew; for he saw their accounts. Who then were the usurping Junta? What power had they got? They had been blamed at the last election for doing nothing. Those charges were ludicrous and absurd. They were to pause in coming to a decision, because he supposed they were so few! although the

largest room in the Kingdom was crammed even in the passages. In God's name, let them be decisive. He should say little of Mr. Cobbett, because as he had written against him he might be supposed to have angry feelings respecting him. He had none. He had always read his writings with much gratification, and he regretted much that the country was deprived of his talents in support of public principles, by, he would say, the oppression and infamy of the Government, which forced him into another country. (*Great applause.*) Mr. Hobhouse would willingly have surrendered his ambition to Mr. Kinnaird, if he had stood forward, and would have been most active to promote his success. Mr. Hobhouse was now proposed for their choice. If he forsook the principles he professed, shame attached to him; but they had acted consistently in supporting a man who avowed the principles which they all adopted, and which they were anxious to render every where triumphant. They were old enough to judge for themselves; and he hoped they would not separate till they adopted decisive measures. (*Applause.*)

[Mr. Cobbett's letter, which Mr. Hunt had stated to be a forgery, was now produced.—Sir F. Burdett said, he believed it to be Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing.—Mr. Hunt pronounced it a forgery.—Sir F. Burdett said, that Mr. Cleary's eye must then have been deceived by it, as his would have been, and Mr. Hunt had nothing further to do with the question, which rested entirely between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Wright, formerly the editor of his Register.]

Mr. Cobbett being put as the amendment of the nomination, about six hands were seen in different parts of the room. The next resolution,

“That John Hobhouse, Esq. from his known talents and character, is a fit and proper person to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament,” was carried by a large, if not universal show of hands. Lord John Russell had very few.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, he hoped that every one would be satisfied with the impartiality of his conduct, although his private feelings were particularly engaged. As to Lord John Russell, he was satisfied that many of his friends had declined to show their hands for him, knowing that he would not come forward to divide them. That was the reason that so few hands had been shown for him. Mr. Hobhouse was chosen by an immense majority.

Mr. HUNT.—I declare that Mr. Hobhouse had an immense majority. If he could finally gain his election, he had not the least objection, and he should not stand in his way. He requested his friends, if there were any, to do every thing in their power to support Mr. Hobhouse.

The third resolution,

“That a Committee, with power to add to their number, be now appointed, to carry the above Resolutions into effect, and to take the

necessary measures to secure the return of Mr. Hobhouse," was carried unanimously. Thanks were then voted to the Chair, when

Sir F. BURDETT said he had the honour of returning his best thanks, and of expressing his gratification that he had been able to conduct the meeting in a manner, he trusted, satisfactory to all parties. (*Great applause.*)

The Meeting, which was excessively crowded during the whole time, broke up a quarter before five."

Such was the close of this meeting: and, apparently, nothing could be more satisfactory than the whole of the proceedings. The cause of freedom and Reform were now, it seemed, in a fit condition to contend against the ministerial influence in Westminster. The Reformers started with a single candidate, for it was distinctly understood, that Mr. Wishart had declared, that he should submit his nomination to the meeting with the intention of withdrawing it, if not supported by the majority. Even Mr. Hunt seemed inclined to promote the unanimity of the meeting, and promised his support to Mr. Hobhouse. Major Cartwright's friends did not interfere. On the contrary, they supported the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Wooler was subsequently, by his own consent, placed upon the general committee.

According to the resolution of the public meeting, a committee was immediately formed, to carry into effect the determination of the Electors, and, having assembled, they

Resolved unanimously,—

" I. That since the year 1807, when the Electors of Westminster took upon themselves to elect their Representatives, they have thrice returned Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, and twice returned Lord COCHRANE to Parliament, on independent principles, free from all expense whatsoever, to either of them.

" II. That this Committee will use its utmost exertions towards fulfilling the expectations of the Electors, in their endeavour to return Mr. HOBHOUSE, on the same independent principles, free from all expense to him.

" III. That many Electors having expressed a wish that the most public declaration possible should be made by Mr. HOBHOUSE; and Mr. HOBHOUSE having not only made a declaration at the public Meeting, of a perfect coincidence of opinion respecting Parliamentary Reform, but also, that ' he should think it no desertion of the Purity of Election as practised in Westminster, if he ' should come to the Hustings, there to repeat that declaration, and ' to answer the questions of the Electors.' This Committee, in conformity to the wishes of the Electors, feel themselves bound on this occasion, to promote their and Mr. HOBHOUSE's desire.

" IV. That to enable this Committee to carry into full effect the instructions they have received from the public meeting, it will be necessary that every friend of liberty should not only use his personal exertions to promote the return of Mr. HOBHOUSE, but that he should also consider it his bounden duty to contribute towards the expenses which must necessarily be incurred.

" SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.

" Subscriptions received by Mr. Brooks, 110, Strand; Mr. Robinson, 99, Dean Street, Soho; Edward Langley, Esq. 17, Edgeware Road; and Mr. King, 22, Charing Cross."

They also transmitted the following letter to Mr. Hobhouse:—

" *Tuesday, November 17, 1818.*

" Sir,—I am directed by the Committee appointed at the public Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, this day, to announce to you the following Resolution, passed at that Meeting by an immense majority.

" Resolved, ' That JOHN HOBHOUSE, Esq. from his known talents and character, is a fit and proper person to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament.'

" I am further directed to assure you, that the most prompt and vigorous measures will be pursued to carry into effect the wishes of the Electors above expressed, to secure your Return to Parliament, for the City and Liberty of Westminster.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient Servant,

" SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.

" John Hobhouse, Esq."

To this Mr. Hobhouse returned the following answer:—

" *43, Clarges Street, Wednesday, November 18, 1818.*

" Sir,—I am favoured with the communication, which, in the name of the Committee appointed to carry into effect the Resolution passed at the public Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, you have been good enough to transmit to me this morning. I hope I shall prove myself worthy of their preference, and of the zealous interest, which, you Sir! and the Committee are pleased to take in my behalf. I beg leave to inclose an Address to the Electors, to be circulated as you think proper.

" I am happy to hear that immediate steps have been taken to insure the object in view; and I wish to state, that I am in readiness to receive any such directions as the Committee may think serviceable to our mutual cause. Previously to any other communication, I hope I may be excused for explicitly stating, that I presume

that the Election is to be conducted upon the ancient principles, and that excepting the legal expenses attending the Hustings, I shall be indemnified from all pecuniary sacrifices. I am independent, both from my circumstances and from my moderate wishes: but I have no possible means of engaging in an Election contested upon the present corrupt system, or indeed upon any other plan, than that which has been adopted by the Westminster Electors, since the year 1807.

" With respectful Compliments to the Committee,

" I remain, Sir,

" Your obedient humble servant,

" JOHN HOBHOUSE.

" Samuel Brooks, Esq.

" *Chairman of the Committee appointed at the public Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.*"

The Committee published the letter to Mr. Hobhouse, and his answer, chiefly for the purpose of shewing to the Electors, that the nomination of that gentleman was to be supported on the pure principles which had ever distinguished the Westminster Reformers. They also published a letter received from Mr. Douglas Kinnaid, who had opened the subscription, by transmitting 100*l*.

" *Clarges Street, November 19, 1818.*

" Dear Sir,—I beg you will receive the inclosed draft for One Hundred Pounds, towards defraying the necessary and lawful expenses of returning to Parliament, *a Representative of the City of Westminster, pledged to use his best exertions towards effecting a RADICAL REFORM of the Commons' House of Parliament.* If any thing could have increased my hearty sympathy with my Brother Electors, co-operating for this end, it is that their choice has been directed to Mr. HOBHOUSE, to whose integrity, and to whose talents, no cause, however sacred, may not with confidence be committed.

" It will afford me much satisfaction to contribute any services which you may be pleased to think, that I, as an Elector of Westminster, can render to the Cause in which you are engaged, as I should have the additional gratification of satisfying the claims of private friendship whilst discharging a public duty.

" I have the honour to be,

" Dear Sir,

" Your very obedient servant,

" DOUGLAS KINNAID.

" S. Brooks, Esq.

" *Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Electors of Westminster, to conduct the Election of John Hobhouse, Esq.*"

In consequence of a mistake in the report of Sir Francis Burdett's speech, Mr. Hobhouse thought it necessary to address a letter to the editors of several of the daily papers, respecting an alleged separation between himself and his father; and Sir Francis Burdett, a few days afterwards, transmitted a letter on the same subject to the editor of *The Times*.

" TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

" Sir,—I observe by the report of the speeches made at the Crown and Anchor on Tuesday last, that the defence kindly undertaken for me by a gentleman whom I have not the honour to know, was founded on a sort of domestic martyrdom, to which, thank God! I have no pretensions. I have to observe, that there must be also some error in the report of the words used by Sir Francis Burdett, who has occasionally honoured my father's house with his presence, and who knows that house to be my only home.

" Considering the character of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, an estrangement from my family would be not only a misfortune, but a disgrace to me; and I own, that if there be any circumstance at all tending to diminish the satisfaction arising from the nomination of last Tuesday, it is that of my having been the innocent occasion of exposing to unfriendly comments a name, which I am bound by all the ties of duty and affection to honour and revere.

" Whatever political difference exists between a father and a son, their opinions may still have only one tendency—the honour and prosperity of the country to which they both belong. Futurity alone can decide which of the two has been mistaken the least. But an undeniable proof of the dignity of their object, and the sincerity of their opinions, is always afforded, when, in spite of that difference, the father preserves the same indulgence for the son, and the son the same veneration for the father. I may, without improperly intruding a private fact upon public notice, safely assert this to be the case in the present instance.

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" JOHN HOBHOUSE.

" 43, Clarges Street, Nov. 19."

" TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

" Sir,—A mistake having gone forth in your generally judged impartial and widely circulated paper, in its report of the proceedings at the late Westminster Meeting, you will, I am certain, allow me to correct it. I am reported to have stated to the meeting, that Mr. Hobhouse had renounced his family, and to have approved such renunciation: now, Sir, I beg leave to say, that had Mr.

Hobhouse renounced his family, I should have been one of the first persons to renounce him; for I am no admirer of the morality which neglects immediate to fulfil remote duties, nor of the philosophy which teaches men to love the Chinese and not their neighbours, any more than of the philanthropy which excludes love of our country, or the patriotism which excludes love of our family. It is, on the contrary, because Mr. Hobhouse is warmly attached to his family, because I believe him to be a dutiful son, an affectionate brother, a sincere and generous friend, that I also believe he will prove a faithful trustee for the public, an undaunted advocate for truth and justice.

"My statement, Sir, was, that warmly as Mr. Hobhouse was attached to his family, he would not allow even those feelings improperly to interfere with his public principles and duty; and this was a pledge of his sincerity, &c. I might have safely added, that the liberality of his father was never likely to put him to the painful necessity of choosing between his public and private duties, or of disturbing the harmony which so happily subsists in the whole family.

"I will just observe, I am not surprised that reporters should frequently make mistakes; I am surprised, considering the difficulty of the task, that they are so frequently correct. I should be sorry to be supposed to impute any blame; but the fact and my own sentiments being so opposite to the statement, I thought it important not to remain so misunderstood.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient, &c.

"F. BURDETT.

"*Kirby Park, Nov. 20, 1818.*"

On the Monday after the nomination, the following Address to the Electors of Westminster appeared in all the public papers, and was likewise dispersed by hand-bills, under the direction of the Committee:—

"TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"43, Clarges-Street, Wednesday, November 18, 1818.

"Gentlemen,—I have received with gratitude and pride the intelligence of my having been nominated at a Public Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, as a fit person to represent this City in Parliament. With additional satisfaction I learn, that the requisite measures for carrying the Resolution of that Meeting into effect have been already adopted, and that preparations for an immediate canvas have been provided in the different parishes.

"The Reformers are united: the disadvantages, therefore, under which they commenced their last struggle, no longer exist. I flatter myself, indeed, that I shall receive the support of every friend of freedom, whatever may be his political creed, as to the best mode of redressing our grievances. With the accomplishment of your first wish, a cordial union among yourselves, the victory is more than half achieved. Nothing can impede the exertions of all the truly independent Electors. They will know their real adherents, and so far from dreading concealed enemies, they will feel they have many well wishers amongst the unwilling ranks of their opponents. United, the issue of their contest cannot be doubtful. Their duty is easy. They will tell their brother Electors, to be true to those principles of Reform, which are derided and decried by the heartless slaves of power, but which the triumphant practice of Westminster has shewn to be not only safe but salutary.

"Electors of Westminster!—You will not leave incomplete the exertions and the success of your last struggle—You will not disfranchise one half of your great City, nor convert the suffrages of freemen into the instruments of despotism.

"As to myself, Gentlemen, you may be assured that I shall be found at the post which your preference has permitted me to occupy. It might, I am well aware, be much better filled; but I shelter myself behind your selection, and the dignity of the cause may add some importance to the advocate.

"I trust, that, previous to the contest, opportunities will be devised, by which I may increase the acquaintance I have had the happiness to form with a large body of the Electors.

"I will never retreat whilst you shall encourage me to proceed: and should I be returned to Parliament by the unbought votes of the Electors of Westminster, I will contribute all the means in my power towards the accomplishment of the purposes for which I conceive the trust will be placed in my hands.

"I am, Gentlemen, your faithful servant,

"JOHN HOBHOUSE."

The Committee appointed, at the public meeting of the Electors on the 17th, by this time amounted to nearly 350; and this Committee, as usual, appointed a Managing Committee consisting of five persons, to whom the executive part was confided.

On Friday, November 27, the Committee received from Sir Francis Burdett the following letter:—

"*Kirby Park, Nov. 26, 1818.*

"Dear Sir,—I beg leave to transmit a draft for 1000*l.* for the expenses of Mr. Hobhouse's Election, and to state to the Com-

mittee my readiness to attend them in any way they may think useful, for securing the Independence of Westminster.

"I remain, Dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"FRANCIS BURDETT.

"Mr. S. Brooks,

"*Chairman of the Westminster Committee.*"

This communication was immediately published and distributed in the different parishes. The Electors recognized the usual munificence of their representative, and were still further encouraged by seeing that Sir Francis Burdett had resolved to lend his powerful personal aid in the threatened contest with Sir Murray Maxwell.

In pursuance of the resolution of the Committee, and of the wishes of Mr. Hobhouse, public meetings were called in the several parishes, for the purpose of bringing the candidate acquainted with the Electors; and of conforming, in every respect, to the truly popular spirit which had prevailed in conducting all the Westminster elections since the triumph of Reform in Westminster, in 1807. The first meeting held was at the Gun Tavern, Pimlico, where a very numerous and respectable portion of the Electors of the out ward of St. George's Parish assembled, and appointed a committee to promote the nomination.—This was on Thursday, November 26. On the following day, the Electors of the Parish of St. James met for the same purpose at the Brewer-street assembly rooms. A similar meeting was convened on Monday, November 30, in the Parish of St. Anne; and on the following day in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden. The meeting of the Parish of Clement Danes took place on December the 7th, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand; and the Parishioners of St. Martin's assembled at the Fives Court in St. Martin's-street, on the following day. The Parish of St. George met the next day. On the 14th the Electors of the united Parishes of St. Margaret and St. John assembled. A second meeting took place in Pimlico, on Monday, December 21; and a second meeting of the Parish of St. James, on the 4th of January. Mr. Hobhouse was present, and addressed the Electors at each of these meetings.

The Resolutions passed at each of these meetings were in unison with those of the Crown and Anchor, as may be seen by those passed by the united Parishioners of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary le Strand, in the following terms:—

"*At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of these Parishes, Friends of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Monday, December 7, 1818,*

MR. THOMAS PROUT IN THE CHAIR,

"It was resolved unanimously,

"I. That, including the memorable year 1807, when the Inde-

pendence of Westminster was first asserted and triumphantly vindicated, the Electors of this City have, *on four occasions*, in returning Representatives to Parliament, by their free and unbiassed Votes, set a great and glorious example to their Fellow Countrymen and to the whole world; by which they have *practically* refuted the calumnies of those who deny the ability of the people to manage their own affairs; and by which they have also proved, that, even under the present system of corruption and terrorism, *Purity of Election is compatible only with extensive suffrage.*

"II. That, suffering in common with those of our countrymen, who are entirely unrepresented—beneath an enormous and intolerable burthen of Taxation, which has been imposed *for the support of despotism abroad, and prevention of Reform at home*, this Meeting is convinced that it is particularly incumbent upon the Electors of Westminster, at the present period, to manifest their unaltered sense of the necessity of a Radical Reform of Parliament, by again returning as their Representative, one who is competent and willing to exert himself to the utmost for the attainment of that all-important object.

"III. That this Meeting, therefore, most cordially concurs in the Resolutions passed at the General Meeting of Electors on the 17th November last:—"That it is the imperative duty of the Electors of Westminster to return to Parliament, a man of known integrity, that he may there, by the side of our present excellent Representative, support the just claims of the people to *Parliaments of a short duration*, and to a Full, Free, and Equal Share in the *choice of Representatives*;" and "that John Hobhouse, Esq. from his known talents and character, is a fit and proper person to Represent the City of Westminster in Parliament;" and that it will use every fair, honest, open and legal means to insure his return.

"IV. That this Meeting thoroughly detests the *mean arts*, resorted to at the last Election by the supporters of Sir Murray Maxwell, and thus distinctly expresses its abhorrence of their *base practices* in the employment of *influence, threats, bribery, and perjury*, and will, on all future occasions, use its utmost endeavours to expose and punish their iniquitous attempts to pervert the Elective Franchise of the Inhabitants of this great City, into a mere instrument of upholding an *extravagant, corrupt, and oppressive system of mis-government.*

"V. That a Committee be now appointed for these Parishes to carry the above Resolutions into effect, with power to add to their number.

"VI. That subscriptions be entered into to defray the expenses of this Election, and books be now opened for that purpose."

In addition to these meetings public dinners were likewise given to Mr. Hobhouse by the Electors of the several parishes. At that to which he and Sir Francis Burdett were invited by the three parishes of St. George, St. Anne's, and St. James, 250 Electors dined together at the great room at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. Thus, no means were omitted by which the Electors might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with their candidate, and of forming a judgment, as to the propriety of supporting the nomination of the 17th of November.

The effects of this activity on the part of the Reformers were seen in the conduct of the Whig and Tory parties.

Mr. Wishart did not persevere in the nomination of Lord John Russell, and in the Independent Whig of Sunday, November 29, it was announced from authority, that that Nobleman did not intend to come forward. The Whigs, however, seemed to wish for an occasion of quarrelling with the nomination. On Thursday, November 26, appeared in the Chronicle, a letter addressed to Mr. Hobhouse, which sufficiently spoke their feelings.

“ TO JOHN HOBHOUSE, ESQ.

London, Nov. 23.

“ Sir—I have read your Address to the Electors of Westminster of the 18th instant, and feel great satisfaction in learning that the Reformers are united; and that this miraculous union takes place for the purpose of supporting your pretensions, as they are termed, to succeed Sir Samuel Romilly as Representative of that City. As I wish to deal plainly with you, I request to be informed what you mean by the phrase, “ *The Reformers are united?*” Is it because Major Cartwright and Mr. Hunt cease to be Candidates? or am I to consider you to be the organ of that respectable and numerous body of men who are friends to the Constitution; and, though solicitous and eager for the Reform of the House of Commons, are so, because they look upon such Reform as their best security for a good and national Government?

“ It is essential to your success, that the people of Westminster should know your real opinions. The Whigs are accused by their enemies of resorting to general terms upon the question of Reform; as I suppose you are no Whig, you will not fall into their errors. I call upon you then to declare, openly and explicitly, in a public address, whether you are or are not friendly to the doctrine of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage? Will you, or will you not, vote for that proposition, when Sir Francis Burdett ventures once more to make that motion in the House of Commons? Is that the Radical Reform which Mr. Kinnaird states you are pledged to effect, and, to farther which, he is kind enough to subscribe 100*l.*? As an Elector of Westminster, I call upon you to say yes

or no to these questions. Do not come among us, wearing false colours. Do not be ashamed of the crown of martyrdom. Let the Electors who have free votes to give, know the real sentiments of the volunteer candidate. Cease to deal in general terms; declare your creed; and when you have done your duty, in scorning disguises, and tearing off your mask, the Electors of Westminster will do theirs, and the sooner the poll commences, the better.

“AN ELECTOR OF WESTMINSTER.”

To this letter, Mr. Hobhouse made no reply. Indeed none was necessary; for that gentleman's opinions as to Reform, were to be found in his conformity with the resolution of the Electors at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on November 17, which had selected him as a fit person to advocate the JUST CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE TO PARLIAMENTS OF A SHORT DURATION, AND TO A FULL, FREE, AND EQUAL SHARE IN THE CHOICE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Morning Chronicle for some time afterwards confined itself to taking no notice whatever of the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse.

Such of the opposition who were thought not immediately connected with the Whigs, were applied to by the Committee, for assistance; but a civil refusal of co-operation was the general reply. This was the case with respect to Sir Robert Wilson, whose answer was such as to induce the Committee to come to a resolution, “to hold no farther communication with that gentleman.” Sir Robert having been introduced to the Borough chiefly through Sir F. Burdett and the Westminster Reformers, his neutrality was a decided evidence of the general feeling of the Whigs, with whom he had lately associated, and a candidate from that party was daily expected. In effect, in the Morning Chronicle of Thursday, December 10, appeared a paragraph, stating: that “*for two days there had been a rumour; that a candidate would be started on those principles of rational Reform, which had recommended Sir Samuel Romilly to the Electors.*” It soon appeared, that the Whigs had some intention of starting young Mr. Samuel Whitbread; and the Honorable Henry Grey Bennet was exceedingly active in taking measures preparatory to the nomination of this gentleman. But, after a meeting or two had been held for this purpose, the intention was dropped, and the Chronicle relapsed into its former silence, so that though the present attack was dropped, it was quite clear that the Whigs resolved to keep the ground open for themselves, and not be committed to any public acquiescence in the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse.

The same silence was observed in all the proceedings of the party at the various Fox Club dinners held at that period, to celebrate the

memory of that statesman. Not a single toast showed, that the Whigs recollected there was any contest going on in Westminster : nor, did they deign to give the least sign, that they preferred the Reformer to the last candidate. Indeed, at the Newcastle Fox Club dinner, Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton opened their accustomed fire upon the Radical Reformers. The latter used these words :—" I will say, that these Radical Reformers, these advocates of Annual Parliaments, and Universal Suffrage, with the word liberty in their mouths, and Popular Rights inscribed on their banners, have done more to contribute to the increase of slavery, and to the facility which the ministers found in suspending the most important of our rights, than ever could have been effected by the united powers of corruption and despotism. ASSOCIATING WITH THE LOWEST OF THE RABBLE, and calling together in mockery of solemn deliberation, those only whose passions had been excited by the pressure of penury and distress, and who were thus rendered incapable of calmly considering the ends they had in view, and the means by which they were instructed to obtain their object, they taught the people to distrust all public men—to place their faith, not on those, whose principles had been regularly and faithfully cherished from one generation to another, and whose great stake in the country afforded the surest guarantee, that they could only be employed for the public good ; but, on themselves, who could only rise by tumult and riot to the unnatural elevation that they sought. The late elections have however shown those brawling, ignorant, but mischievous quacks, that the true people of England hold no communion with them ; that they consider their cause and interests, and those of these demagogues, are wholly incompatible ; that the prosperity of the latter must entail adversity and suffering on the former ; and that their doctrines and views are exposed to universal derision and abhorrence."*

Two or three of the whippers-in of the party, were eager that some one should be started in opposition to Mr. Hobhouse,† and their anxiety was increased by an event which had been for some time foreseen ; but which was not announced to the public until the 13th of January. This was the retreat of Sir Murray Maxwell. The preparations made by the Reformers, and the general determination prevalent in Westminster, to resist the candidate excluded at the last Election, had convinced the court party, that even with the certain sacrifice of a monstrous sum of money, and the employment of the whole government influence, Sir Murray Maxwell would still have had a very doubtful chance of obtaining a seat. Several of the Electors engaged for Sir Murray at the last Election, had been too

* Newcastle Chronicle, Saturday, January 9.

† It came to the knowledge of the Committee, that Mr. Brougham had said : " if there was not another man in the world, we would not have Hobhouse."

much out of pocket to consent to fresh endeavours, and the government did not chuse to engage in a direct contest for an admiralty member at the very outset of the session of Parliament. It appears, that Sir Murray Maxwell thought himself aggrieved, for the tone in which he took leave of his friends was not that of satisfaction and content: it was as follows—

“ TO HENRY WINCHESTER, ESQ. AND THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, WHO SIGNED THE REQUISITION.

“ 18, Bolton-Street, Jan. 11, 1819.

“ Gentlemen,—The conditions upon which I ventured to accept the highly gratifying requisition, which you did me the honour of addressing to me last November, will be in your recollection.

“ The moment of contest is fast approaching, without the fulfilment of those conditions in the degree which would hold out a reasonable prospect of success.

“ I am therefore reluctantly compelled to withdraw from the proud situation in which that requisition had placed me, and have now only to express my sense of the kindness which led to so flattering a distinction.

“ I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity of repeating my grateful thanks for the generous support which yourselves, and a large body of Electors, extended to me at the late Election.

“ I beg leave to subscribe myself with sentiments of the most devout gratitude and attachment.

“ Your very sincerely obliged and most faithful servant,

“ MURRAY MAXWELL.”

It was now supposed by many, that Mr. Hobhouse would walk over the course; but no notice whatever was taken in the Morning Chronicle of the victory already achieved over the court party; a circumstance which, together with the silence of all the Whig meetings, and the attack on the Reformers at the Newcastle dinner, left it not in the least doubtful what line the Whigs were desirous to pursue.

As yet there was no intimation that there would be any division amongst the Reformers themselves.

The first notice, that some effort might be made to bring forward Major Cartwright, was given in Mr. Wooler's Paper of Wednesday, Feb. 3. The Black Dwarf addressed a letter to Mr. Hobhouse, telling him, that he might purchase immortality at a cheap rate, by proposing the Major himself, and withdrawing his claims in favor of the Veteran Reformer. The Black Dwarf pointed out to Mr. Hobhouse, that by so doing, he would acquire a name

“ Above all Greek! above all Roman fame!”

As Mr. Hobhouse made no reply to the Black Dwarf, it is probable that he considered that the question should in decency be left entirely to the Electors; and, that it had already been partially settled by the very insignificant number of votes given to the Major during the three days on which his name stood on the poll, at the Election in 1818.

The first preparations made for the Election were made by the High Bailiff of Westminster, who was willing to secure himself by law against the expenses of erecting hustings, and who requested Mr. Bennet to bring a Bill into the House of Commons to that effect, or rather to renew the old Bill, which threw those expenses on the candidates.

The following very able statements of the true merits of the case, appeared in the Statesman newspaper:—

“ The High Bailiff of Westminster.

“ A Bill is now before the House of Commons, to enable the High Bailiff of Westminster to charge any person who may become a Candidate to represent that City in Parliament, with the expenses for building the Hustings, for Poll Clerks, and for various other matters connected with the execution of the king's writ.

“ This is the third time such a Bill has been brought into the House. It was first passed into an Act in the 51 Geo. III.—it expired on the 1st of August 1813, and was re-enacted 53 Geo. III.—it finally expired on the 1st of the present month, and it is now proposed to renew it for a longer period.

“ The first Act was made on the recommendation of a Committee of the House of Commons, the report from which was ordered to be printed on the 11th June 1811, and will be found in the 20th volume of *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*—App. (e) p. lxvi.

“ The Committee say the average emoluments of the High Bailiff are wholly inadequate to the expenses of a contested Election.

“ That the least exceptionable, and perhaps the most constitutional way, would be to assess the parishes at a fixed sum to defray the expenses; yet that *for want of time and information*, they recommend a Bill to be passed, charging the expenses on Candidates, provided the Bill be made to continue for two years only.”

“ When the Act was renewed, it was still from *want of time and information*.

“ But now it is to be passed as a mere matter of course, without debate, and without inquiry.

“ The House, it should seem, had some doubts as to the propriety of fining a man a thousand pounds for becoming a Candidate to represent the people; for it concurred with the Committee, and passed an Act to continue for two years only, on the ground that it

was better to take the money out of the pocket of the would-be Representative, than out of the pocket of the High Bailiff; it seems to have considered a fine upon those who became Candidates of less importance than the trouble of inquiry to enable it to do justice; this was the opinion of the House in 1811, but it held out an expectation, that once within two years, time would be found for the inquiry, when justice would be done. No time could, however, be found before the General Election in 1812. At that Election there were no Candidates; the people nominated Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, and, as it was generally understood there would be no opposition, a temporary erection instead of the usual Hustings was put up, and Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane were returned on the spot. The High Bailiff brought his action for a moiety of the expense against Lord Cochrane, and, in consequence of the defence being ill managed, he obtained a verdict. He then sued Sir Francis Burdett, and was nonsuited.

"In 1814, the High Bailiff petitioned the House of Commons for a remuneration of what he called his losses, occasioned by executing the king's writ.—The High Bailiff states those losses at 2094*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* "making," as he says, "no deduction for the original purchase-money of 4000*l.* or for life insurance thereon."

"By the High Bailiff's account, printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 20th April 1818, it appears—

"That from the time when he purchased the office in 1806 to 1816, a period of 10 years, he received in virtue of his office, exclusive of Elections	£.7,165 0 0
"That he paid what he calls a rent to the Dean and Chapter of 150 <i>l.</i> per annum, which for 10 years makes	£.1,500
"And to his Deputy for salary 105 <i>l.</i> per year	1,050
	2,550 0 0

"Ten years profit 4,615 0 0

"But he says he has sustained a loss by the Elections of upwards of 2,000 <i>l.</i> ; in his former account he states the exact amount to be	2,094 10 2
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"Making his actual clear gain in 10 years. 2,520 9 10

"When the High Bailiff first applied to Parliament, he stated that he had purchased the office for 4000*l.*—that of this sum 3000*l.* was given to his predecessor to induce him to resign, and he gave 1000*l.* to the Dean and Chapter for appointing him, and he also agreed to pay to the Dean and Chapter 150*l.* a year, so long as he retained the office, which was conferred upon him for life.

"This bargain and sale between the High Bailiff and the Dean

and Chapter was a corrupt connivance to put money into the pockets of both the parties; for the consideration was not the "whips and strays" which the Bailiff might lay his hands upon, and which in former times might be a sufficient remuneration for his trouble as Bailiff; but it was, as the Bailiff himself tells us, the advantage he was to make in executing the King's writ, "*he looked principally to the Elections for a recompense*," and this recompense was estimated so high, that he could afford to give 4000*l.* down, and 150*l.* a year for his appointment. But how was any emolument to arise from executing the King's writ? The Committee in their first report say, he is by virtue of his office the Sheriff; and how was the Sheriff to obtain emolument from taking the Election of Members to serve in Parliament? The answer is, in one way, and in one way only—namely, by making charges on the Candidates, which he had no right to make, by fining them at his good pleasure—by instituting a new qualification, beyond what the law required—by, in fact, extorting a sum of money from Candidates and putting it into his pocket, and in this nefarious transaction the Dean and Chapter participated. That this was the case was fully proved, when, on the 22d of February 1808, the first action brought by the High Bailiff against Sir Francis Burdett was tried.

The items in the High Bailiff's bill amounted to £.1,507 0 0

And he brought his action against Sir Francis

Burdett, for what was called his proportion of that sum. The items were 17 in number, 14 of which were struck out by the Judge, they amounted to

*919 19 2

Three only were allowed, amounting to

567 0 10

And this explains at once what the High Bailiff alluded to, when he said he looked for his remuneration to the Elections.

"When the High Bailiff made his bargain with the Dean and Chapter, he calculated, and so did they too, on the continuance of the corrupt practice which then prevailed; to this practice they had no objection, it put money into the pockets of all of them; and this was all they cared for. The Bailiff purchased, as he thought, a lucrative office; and had it continued to be lucrative, he would very quietly have put the lucre into his pocket, and we should have heard no complaints; he would not have come with the money in his hand and said, Gentlemen, here is a large profit made, which my conscience will not allow me to pocket: no, no! he would have been very contented to keep the money, and very silent as to the amount. It has not however turned out to be quite so lucrative a

* Some of those items, which the Judge refused to admit, were by the Act which the High Bailiff obtained, allowed to be charged.

job as he expected; but being resolved that it shall be so, he obtains the consent of the Prince Regent, and then makes a claim on the exhausted purse of the people for 800*l.* expenses, incurred by him in the Election of 1812; and this sum was granted to him in the Committee of Supply, on the 17th of March 1818; but upon its being reported, the further consideration was deferred from time to time, and the Bailiff did not get the money. The payment of 800*l.* as the forerunner of another demand, was a little too much, even for a House of Commons constituted as the present House is; and so the matter was shuffled off, and expired with the Parliament. The Bailiff purchased the situation with all the contingents to which it was liable; if he made a bad speculation it was his own fault; and as he would have pocketed the profit, so he should put up with the loss.

“There is, however, another point for consideration; the Committee say, that as Sheriff, the Bailiff is compelled to take the Poll; but it does not seem to have occurred to them, that there was a wide difference between him and all other Sheriffs. When a man is appointed Sheriff, he must either serve the office or pay a heavy fine; here the Sheriff buys the office for a sum of money. When a man once accepts the office of Sheriff, he must serve for a year; here he buys the office for life.—When the Sheriff receives the King's writ to cause a member to be elected, he must see that the writ is executed—he has no excuse; here the Sheriff is not bound to execute the writ, he can at once resign his office, and leave his masters to execute the writ themselves. In all these respects the Bailiff for Westminster differs from the Sheriff, but there are also some other material circumstances in this case,—the Bailiff is the servant of the Dean and Chapter, and, as such, is not compelled by any law to incur loss on their account, and if he voluntarily undertake the risk, it is a matter wholly between themselves, with which neither the public nor the Candidates at an Election have any thing to do.

“The Committee seem to have travelled out of their way in this business, and the House seems to have followed them blindfolded. Had no Act been made, and had the High Bailiff resigned his situation in consequence, the Dean and Chapter, or the Lord High Steward, or his Deputy, must have taken the poll themselves, and, if they thought it worth the trouble, they would have been the Petitioners instead of the High Bailiff: a Committee might then have been appointed, and inquiry instituted, as to their tenure. It might then have been ascertained how the Election was taken, and by whom it was taken, before any hustings were built. It might, perhaps, have come out that the Guildhall of the City, which was a very few years ago destroyed, was like the Guildhall of the City of

London, the proper place to take the Election in, and that the Dean and Chapter, who, with the Lord High Steward, his Deputy, the Bailiff and his Deputy, and the 12 Burgesses or Aldermen, constituting a kind of Corporation, were bound to take the Election without expense to any body—as is done in the City of London and many other places.—It might have come out that some part of the immense revenues of the Dean and Chapter (and the value of their property is said to exceed 60,000*l.* per annum) was applicable, and had formerly been applied to this purpose. It is incumbent on the House to make those inquiries before it again enacts either that individuals who may become Candidates, or the parishes, shall be mulcted in a large sum of money.—If upon these inquiries it should be found that the Electors have no right to a Guildhall—that the Dean and Chapter, in whom the civil as well as the ecclesiastical government resides, have no income applicable to this object, and ought not to take the Election at their own expense, then no one would surely complain of a rate being levied to provide a proper place to take the Election, and to pay persons for the time consumed in doing the necessary business which the Election might occasion.

“ The points for the consideration of the House of Commons are—

“ 1. The impropriety of compelling a Candidate unnecessarily to pay a large sum of money, and thus make him purchase the seat.

“ 2. Inquiry as to the compulsion of the Dean and Chapter to take the Election at their own expense.

“ 3. In the event of the Dean and Chapter not being obliged to take the Election at their own expense—then the propriety of making the parishes provide the means.

“ Until these matters have been fully inquired into, and disposed of, it is gross injustice to compel any one to pay the alleged losses sustained by the servant of the Dean and Chapter, because he has made a bad bargain with his masters.”

“ *High Bailiff of Westminster.*

“ WESTMINSTER HUSTINGS.

“ This subject, of such vital importance to the freedom of Election, seems to be very imperfectly understood. The parties whose pecuniary interests are the most deeply, because the most permanently, affected by the Bill which has just passed the House of Commons, have, with the usual craft of their order, contrived to keep themselves out of sight. They have put forward their servant, whom it has been the fashion of late, and *only* of late, to call the *High Bailiff of Westminster*, and in his person another covert attempt is made to dip the rapacious fingers of the priesthood

into the pockets of the people : to him it is proposed to give an emolument in consideration of the supposed expenses and losses he has to sustain.—This will enable them to extort a greater sum from the next officer than they were able to obtain from the present one.

“ It is not necessary to show, that if the expense of the hustings and poll clerks, &c. is to be borne by the Member returned, it is in effect a purchase of the seat : nor that if the expense be to be shared by all the Candidates, successful or not, it will operate to prevent the opportunity of choice ; nor that if Candidates only are to pay, then those who may be nominated and voted for, who may be absent, or who may refuse to become Candidates (for votes, if tendered, for any person whatever, must be taken) cannot be charged with any part, and the whole will be unjustly demanded of the Candidates present. To levy a rate upon the inhabitants for the express purpose would be the most proper course, *provided* there is nobody whose duty it is to take the Election in obedience to the King’s writ, or who holds emolument on such condition.

“ At the time when the payment of the expenses of the hustings, &c. was first resisted, a search was made in the record office, and into some old Acts of Parliament, not generally known ; but the investigation could not and cannot be carried to a sufficient extent but by a Parliamentary Committee, having power to examine papers and persons. The results, however, as they appeared on that inquiry, were—

“ 1. That the Dean and Chapter of Westminster had received, from time to time, grants from the Crown of great estates and manors, upon condition of performing certain duties, and necessarily those attendant upon their respective lordships.

“ 2. That the Dean and Chapter are the Lords of the Manor of Westminster.

“ 3. That their manorial rights, like most others, imply duties to be performed.

“ 4. That the Lords of the Manor, or their Bailiff, or servant, is bound to execute the King’s writ.

“ 5. That the officer called the *High* Bailiff was unknown to the law by that name till some very late* Acts, in which his vulgar title was improperly used instead of his legal one.

“ 6. That he was and is the menial servant of the Dean and Chapter, and was always styled ‘ the *Bailiff of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster*, within the liberty of the said Dean and Chapter,’ not the *Bailiff*, or *High* Bailiff of Westminster, and was appointed and paid by them.

* The Bailiff is recognised as an Officer in the Acts erecting the Court of Requests for the recovery of small debts, and receives considerable emoluments therefrom.

" 7. That a grant was made to the Dean and Chapter of all the fines, forfeitures, and confiscations, and other royalties of the Crown, arising ' within the liberty of the said Dean and Chapter,' which grant was claimed by them, a few years ago, in the Exchequer, and was admitted by the then Attorney-General, the father of the present Marquis Camden.

" 8. That the Dean and Chapter do not, in terms, sell or let out to farm the *office* of their Bailiff.—The law says, ' the Bailiwick shall not be put out to farm.'

" 9. That they do however sell to any gentleman who can be gilded with the high sounding title with which their servant has lately been dignified, the emoluments arising from the grant last mentioned; and one of the conditions of the sale is, that he shall be *their* BAILIFF and their returning officer.

" 10. That the Bailiff, *vulgo* High Bailiff, does claim, and has received, the fines, forfeitures, and confiscations, under *the said grant, within ' the liberty of the said Dean and Chapter.'*

" 11. That such sale is a mere fraudulent evasion of the law: for in selling the emoluments of their Bailiwick, they are, in fact, selling or ' putting out to farm their Bailiwick,' contrary to law.

" 12. That this corrupt and illegal bargain and sale was, it appears, attended with actual fraud on the purchaser, as it was represented to include *large FAVORITS* to be made on the Elections, which could only be made, and never were made, but by false and fraudulent charges on Candidates, who inadvertently paid them.

" 13. That the greater part of the items of these charges were actually struck out even by Lord Ellenborough, on the trial ' *Morris v. Burdett*,' though he had shown himself more than sufficiently friendly to the general charge itself.

" 14. That it is these very charges so struck out which, among others equally illegal, the present Bill seeks to impose by law.

" Is it then too much to ask for delay, and for that inquiry which had been repeatedly promised, before Parliament again legislate in a question so important to the rights of a large body of Electors, and which, if carried, as it is proposed, will be so detrimental to the Freedom of Election?"

The Bill was hurried through Parliament with great expedition. The Electors petitioned against it as follows:—

" *To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.
The humble Petition of the undersigned Electors of Westminster.*

SHOWETH,

" That your Petitioners have learnt that a Bill is now under consideration by your Lordships, to renew an Act passed in the 51st

year of his present Majesty, intituled, "An Act to extend and amend an Act of the 18th year of the reign of his late Majesty King Geo. II. touching the Elections of Knights of the Shire to service in Parliament for England, respecting the expenses of Hustings and Poll Clerks, so far as regards the City of Westminster."

"That the late Act of the 31st of the King was proposed at the solicitation of the Bailiff of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and was avowedly passed as a temporary Act upon the spur of an occasion which was said not to allow time to obtain the information necessary to ground a permanent measure.

"That the said Act was in the 33d of the King again proposed upon the like solicitation, and on the like pretence, of want of time and information, although two years had passed over without any inquiry, was again passed as a temporary measure, which expired on the 1st day of the present year.

"That eight years have now passed away without any attempt having been made by the said Bailiff, or the said Dean and Chapter, to induce either your Lordships, or the other House of Parliament, to institute such inquiry and investigation as might determine Parliament to come to some permanent legislative measure in relation thereto.

"That the said Act is of great consequence to your Petitioners, as Electors of Westminster, as it tends to violate the freedom of Election, by limiting the choice of Representatives to persons willing to expend large sums of money for the chance of being returned.

"That your Petitioners have the fullest confidence that your Lordships will feel that the said Bailiff of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and the said Dean and Chapter, have had ample opportunity afforded them, if they could have made out any case upon which they could have justly called for any permanent legislative measure.

"Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Lordships will not again, upon such solicitation, and upon such pretence, pass a third temporary measure without making a full investigation on the subject."

Mr. Henry Hunt also petitioned against it.

On Sunday, January 31, Mr. Hunt addressed the Electors in the Observer Newspaper, and promised to find a candidate to oppose Mr. Hobhouse. It is probable, that had not the High Bailiff's Bill passed, Mr. Hunt would have proposed himself. He seems to have forgotten, that on withdrawing Mr. Cobbett, he had said, he should support Mr. Hobhouse.

On Friday, February the 5th, Mr. Brougham moved the new writ for Westminster. He did not accompany his motion with the eulogy which had of late years, since the death of the Duke of

Bedford, been customary in noticing the decease of distinguished members of Parliament.

The Committee for managing Mr. Hobhouse's Election now thought it their duty, previously to the nomination at the Hustings, again to consult the feelings of the Electors at large. Mr. Hobhouse had repeatedly seen the Electors at the different parishes: it was now proposed, that he should meet the Reformers once more in a body. For this purpose, a general meeting was called. The same opportunity was taken for the Committee to submit, to those who had appointed them, an account of their proceedings, accompanied by a general review of the conduct and the principles of the Westminster Reformers, since the great struggle in 1807. The meeting was advertised for Tuesday, February the 9th. THE PROPOSED OBJECT OF THE MEETING, WAS TO PROMOTE THE RETURN OF MR. HOBHOUSE; but, this object was not allowed to operate to the prejudice of free discussion. On the contrary, several individuals attended the meeting, and made every preparation for opposing Mr. Hobhouse. THE COMMITTEE, WHO CALLED THE MEETING, HAD OBVIOUSLY A RIGHT TO PROCURE ANY CHAIRMAN THEY THOUGHT FIT; but they had no other object in requesting Sir Francis Burdett to take the chair, than the securing the tranquillity of the assembly. At the door of the Crown and Anchor Tavern, and even in the room itself, however, persons were employed to distribute small bills, with these words printed upon them:—

“ CITIZENS OF WESTMINSTER,

“ CHOOSE THIS DAY

“ AN IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN,

And call upon Sir Francis Burdett to explain the extraordinary assertion, that he made at the last meeting; namely, ‘ *That it was impossible to return the venerable Major Cartwright as a representative for the City of Westminster.* ’ ”

Other persons were also employed in distributing a letter addressed to the Electors of Westminster by Major Cartwright. This letter contained a direct attack on Sir Francis Burdett, and accused him of having recourse to very sinister practices, in order to prevent the Major from becoming member for Westminster. The letter implied an offer of the Major's services on this, or any other occasion. The day was a very rainy day; but, the great room was full by one o'clock, when Sir Francis Burdett, accompanied by Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Thomas T. Clarke, Major Torrens, and some members of the Westminster Committee, took their seats at the table: Messrs. Hunt, Gale Jones, Watson, and Wooler, had already placed themselves at

the table; and these gentlemen were joined during the proceedings by Sir Charles Wolseley.

Sir Francis Burdett took the chair amid loud cheers. He stated, that at the request of several independent Electors of Westminster he came among them this day to take the chair, for the purpose, as *he understood*, of receiving a report from the Committee appointed to conduct the election of a gentleman to fill the vacancy which had lately occurred in their representation. He had cheerfully obeyed this summons of his constituents, and he congratulated this great and respectable Meeting on the prospect of success which they now had for the election of the gentleman whom they had put in nomination at their former Meeting. (*Loud applause.*) The worthy Baronet concluded by reading the advertisement, in pursuance of which the Meeting was convened.

Mr. Richter then proceeded to read the report; but, its length, the difficulty of hearing at the lower part of the room, and the impatience of those who came in during the time Mr. Richter was reading, and who not having heard the beginning, could not well connect the matter, and a call for printing it, prevented it being entirely read. It was thereupon resolved,

That the report be printed. It is as follows:—

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

“ *Westminster Election, 1819.*

“ At a general and most numerous Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, convened by public advertisement, ‘ on Tuesday, the 9th of February 1819, to receive the report of the Committee appointed on the 17th day of November last, and to take the further necessary measures to secure the Election of John Hobhouse, Esq.’

“ SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, M. P. IN THE CHAIR.

“ The following report was ordered to be printed :

“ The General Committee Report,

“ That a Committee of Electors has been formed, and is in a state of activity, in each of the Seven Parishes, which compose the City and Liberty of Westminster, and an additional Committee has also been formed in the Out-Ward of the Parish of St. George.

“ That the number of Electors composing these Committees more than twice as large as it ever was on any former occasion, that the zeal and intelligence of the Members have never been surpassed; and that the favorable result of their canvas is altogether unprecedented.

“ That each of the Parish Committees has convened one, and some of them have convened two, Public Meetings of the Parishioners, and it affords great satisfaction to your Committee to repo

that all these meetings have been very numerously attended; that the business has been wholly transacted by tradesmen, in their respective Parishes, and that in no instance has there been any want of ability for all the purposes of such meetings; but that, on the contrary, the conduct of those meetings has been so judicious and exemplary, and the speeches of the Electors, who addressed them, have been so excellent as to excite the applause of the friends, and to command the respect of the enemies of the People.

“ Mr. Hobhouse has been invited to, and has attended all these meetings; he has been received with enthusiasm, and in his speeches he has shewn his intimate knowledge of the system pursued by the government, and its tendency towards military despotism; he has exposed the Corruptions of the House of Commons, and has declared himself a Radical Reformer—eager to fight your battles, by the side of your intrepid champion Sir Francis Burdett.

“ At all those meetings the utmost unanimity has prevailed, and an eager desire to promote the return of Mr. Hobhouse has been manifested. A manifestation founded on the conviction of the necessity of such a Reform, in the House of Commons, as shall restore those short Parliaments, which, for several centuries (and until they were destroyed by the arbitrary power of the king and aristocracy) were both the law and practice of the country—of such a Reform as shall make the right of suffrage so extensive, so equal, and so secure, that the House of Commons may be what it is pretended to be—what the law requires it should be—and what in reason it ought to be—a real Representation of the whole People: so that by the extent and equality of suffrage it should be impossible to corrupt the People out of the House, and by the frequent exercise of that suffrage, it should be made the interest of the Representative to act with good faith towards his Constituents, and thus prevent the corruption of the Members within the House.

“ That these opinions are not fallacious—are not the ebullitions of the moment, but the result of knowledge, and dictated by sound principles, has been fully proved by the great number of Electors who have actually canvassed their respective Parishes; and by the result of their canvas which, by its unparalleled success, has not only proved the progress of right habits of thinking in this important city, but utterly confounded the enemies of Reform; and, we may hope, secured the return of another friend of the People. It has encouraged us to believe that, henceforth, Westminster will return none but Radical Reformers.

“ In the present proceedings there has been, in one respect, a deviation from the plan hitherto pursued by the Electors of Westminster. Neither Sir Francis Burdett, nor Lord Cochrane, were expected to do any act, which might subject them to the personal

expense which the law very unjustly makes candidates liable to pay. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane were not therefore candidates. It has, all along, been considered that a seat, even in a House of Commons which really represented the whole People, while it was undoubtedly the greatest honor any man could receive, would still be an office of great trouble and difficulty.

"In the best state of things it would be just for the People to pay, and no degradation to their Representatives to receive compensation for a due performance of arduous duties. In the present state of things, burden enough is placed upon the shoulders of an honest Member of Parliament, without his being compelled to spend his money, much less to beg votes, from door to door, to obtain the seat.

"This deviation was occasioned by the great body of the Electors not being personally acquainted with Mr. Hobhouse, and from his opinions on the vital question of Reform being known to them only, from general reputation, and his speeches, during the last Election. Hence it became necessary for Mr. Hobhouse to attend the Parish Meetings, that the Electors might hear, from himself, the opinions he entertained, and be enabled to judge for themselves, as to his eligibility to represent them in Parliament.

"The preparatory measures for an Election contest have, in the present case, been unusually prolonged, and have consequently been attended with unusual expense, and the time which must still elapse before the Election can be determined, cannot fail considerably to augment that expense.

"These considerations, it is trusted, will be sufficient to induce the friends of Reform to continue to aid the funds by their subscriptions.

"Your Committee have applied the Funds, which have been entrusted to them, with as great a regard to economy as was at all consistent with the attainment of their object.

"Your Committee have used every fair, honest, and honorable means, in their power, to promote your wishes. Attention has been paid to the suggestions of every Friend to Reform, and they trust it will be found that no circumstance, of any importance, has been neglected.

"The accounts, when audited, will be published, and the books and documents will, as usual, be open to the inspection of every Subscriber.

"The Electors of Westminster consider the business of electing their Representatives to be their own proper business; they well know how to manage it for themselves; and, in calling your attention to the present and former state of our city, the contrast it exhibits, will, it is hoped, demonstrate to the nation, the great advantages

which would result from a conviction in the minds of the People at large, that they are competent to manage their own affairs, without the assistance of any party in the State, or of great and sounding names, usurping the place of intellect and integrity.

"At the General Election in 1807, by your spontaneous exertions, your most excellent Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, was first sent to Parliament, without *his* solicitation, and without *his* being put to personal trouble or expense.

"At the General Election in 1812, Corruption had not recovered from the blow, and dared not face you. On that occasion you returned two Parliamentary Reformers, one of whom remains with *us* to fight the battles of Freedom against the Domestic Foe; while the other, now no longer your free-chosen Representative, is at this moment fighting the battles of Freedom in a Foreign Country;—to the Friends of Liberty, in which Country, he was not more recommended by his known talents and courage, than by his being your Representative.

"In 1814, after the expulsion of Lord Cochrane from the House of Commons, you again returned him free from personal trouble and expense.

"In July last, you again triumphed, and it might have been expected that Corruption would no more have entered the lists with you.

"The Election in 1807, contested, as it was, against the power of both the in's and the out's, was carried, by you, for a sum under 800*l*.

"The chairing which, on that occasion, was thought necessary, cost upwards of 400*l*.

"The Election of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, in 1812, and the subsequent Election of Lord Cochrane, in 1814, cost about 800*l*. Six times have the Committees had to contend in Courts of Law, at great expense, in actions which, as they involved the Freedom of Election, in Westminster, they were compelled to defend.

"Upwards of Thirty Public Meetings of the Electors have been held, on subjects relative to the liberties of the People.

"The Elections in 1807, 1812, and 1814; the contests in Courts of Law, and the Public Meetings of the Electors, have altogether, in the space of eleven years, been accomplished for a sum of money not exceeding 4,300*l*.; the whole of which, with the exception of a small balance, has been defrayed by public subscription.

"At the last Election, new and unexpected difficulties presented themselves: they arose from two causes—1st, The great length of time since an Election contest had taken place; the consequence of which was, that the Electors had forgotten the necessity of prompt and mutual co-operation; and 2nd. The divisions among the friends

of Reform. Those circumstances, by causing distraction, prevented the rigid economy used on former occasions, from being put in practice, and the expenses of that Election amounted, at its close, to the sum of £1,199 17 0

“ The subsequent Chairing to 430 12 6

“ Making a total Expense of 1,630 9 6

“ While the Subscription amounted to 887 12 6

“ Leaving a deficiency of £ 742 17 0

“ A strict regard has always been paid to moral considerations, and not one penny has been expended for any purpose, which an honest man need be ashamed to justify. No drunkenness—no debauchery of any kind was promoted;—no false swearing was permitted;—no rioting encouraged;—no murders committed;—none of the vile acts formerly resorted to were allowed;—no undue influence was, in any way, attempted;—no threats used;—no promises made;—no hired Voters appeared at the Hustings;—there was no puffing in the newspapers;—no attempts to mislead any one;—all was left, as it ought always to be left, to the good sense of the Electors themselves.

“ The history of these proceedings does not shew a mere petty retrenchment, from unbounded extravagance, which it has lately become the fashion of the Outs to recommend as all the Reform the People should desire. There has been a Radical Reform in management and morals, demonstrating that the People, and the People alone, can do their own business in the best and least expensive manner.

“ Even the Hustings, which were said to be the property of those who could destroy and carry them off, and about which furious and disgraceful contests were held, have been preserved by the exertions of your Committees, and those disgraceful contests prevented.

“ Thus has Westminster become a school of political morality, instead of being, as it formerly was, one common scene of depravity!

“ No adequate idea can be given of the state of Westminster, during the time its seats were contended for by the Whig and Tory parties. Those only can appreciate it, who were observers of it. An old and intelligent Friend of Reform speaks of it thus:—

“ ‘ I remember several Westminster elections—I remember the profligate proceedings—the deep and dire atrocities with which they were accompanied—the canvassings—the compulsions—the threats—the penalties—the enormous corruption—and the sanguinary conflicts with which the struggles of the two ARISTOCRATIC parties were attended; when the Irish chairmen, on the one hand, with

their broken poles converted into bludgeons, and the butchers,* on the other hand, with their marrow-bones and cleavers, ready both of them for the alarm and the execution of factious slaughter, knocked down the Electors proceeding to the Hustings or departing from them, and sought to decide, by open violence, the contests which their respective employers could dispute no longer, by means of their abused and exhausted purses!—I remember many of those circumstances well, and every old inhabitant of Covent Garden will remember facts enough of this description; *at a time when Reformers were not, and Family-influence was all in all.* Notwithstanding the hireling cant about the ‘self-willed multitudes and democratical turbulence,’ *yet since the People have taken the Election into their own hands,* and the contest has no longer been exclusively confined between what was called the Whig and Tory, or more properly the Ministerial and Opposition families, these disorders have ceased.

“ ‘I remember that contest, in which, if reports are to be credited, (and I could quote an authority not unlikely to have been pretty accurately informed upon the subject) two hundred thousand pounds were expended, nay, it has been said, two hundred thousand pounds by each, to decide whether Charles James Fox or Sir Cecil Wray should be the representative of this city. Two hundred thousand pounds—the revenue of a prince—the rental of a principality—expended upon what! and how!—the statement itself involves the answer: in the corruption of morals—in the subversion of all integrity—in the encouragement of drunkenness, riot, tumult, and debauchery—in the eradication of truth, and the subornation of perjury—the murders with which the contest was accompanied, were the smallest part of the crimes.

“ ‘The two great family confederacies were exhausted by the gigantic effort, and a bargain was made to rob the people of Westminster of any efficient vote, or share, they might hitherto have possessed, in the pretended representation of the country.

“ ‘This precious compact was eventually frustrated by John Horne Tooke. The numbers polled for Mr. Tooke, at his respective Elections, were not great; for Westminster, after all, had not so far got rid of its veneration for rank and family, as to suffer its choice to be led by talent and integrity alone.

“ ‘The opposition of Mr. Tooke was of vast consequence, it furnished the means, it afforded opportunities for exercising the po-

* “The great disturbances were occasioned by Irish chairmen and porters, hired for the purpose by one party, and fellows dressed as sailors, who were hired by the other party. The writer is here in error in attributing these mischiefs to the butchers.”

pular franchise, it persuaded the People to think and to feel that that franchise was of great importance.

“ ‘The necessary stimulus to canvass and scrutinize the characters and tendencies of men and measures was preserved, till a man was found upon whom the confidence and suffrages of the Electors could be concentrated, and hence began the popularity and might of the **RADICAL REFORMERS**. Thus was prepared the way for the fame, the influence, the envied, more than enviable ascendancy of **SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, THE MAN INDEED OF THE PEOPLE**, for the People themselves have raised him to the pinnacle on which he stands. They raised him because they needed him. Disgusted by personal contests, and selfish coalitions, and finding places, pensions, taxation, and national insolvency, oppression, and pauperism, rapidly and continually increasing, they resolved to inquire and to determine for themselves on the means of their own redress, instead of trusting to the vague professions of those who had so often deceived them. They sought a leader; he appeared; he was hailed. You concentrated, and you triumphed. From that moment, Westminster has been the great well-head, or natural reservoir of **RADICAL REFORM**, whence flow so many torrents in various directions, which no barriers can stop in their progress to the ocean of universal opinion and assent.

“ ‘The Radical Reformers are advocates for equal rights, equal protection, equal laws; they are resolute for what they regard—a Constitutional Reform, not for a revolution to overthrow the Constitution; for this they have been calumniated and reviled; for this some of them have been trampled on, insulted and proscribed, shunned like pestilence, hunted like wild beasts, and persecuted even unto death.

“ ‘Westminster has proved that, amongst the poorest, the most uninformed, and unaccommodated, of her people, anarchy has no party.’

“ Your Committee take this opportunity of replying to two calumnious reports, which have been diligently and extensively propagated:—

“ I. That vast sums of money have been expended in the Elections of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane.

“ II. That Westminster has been influenced by a Junto.

“ To the first accusation, your Committee reply:—

“ That no sum of money has ever been expended, but what has been stated in the accounts, which have, from time to time, been printed.

“ That no sum of money has been expended, by any persons, for

the purposes of those Elections, except by the Committees appointed to conduct the Elections.

" These assertions are founded on the particular knowledge of several of your Committee, and are proved by the fact, that if other sums of money had been expended, there must have been some one, at least, to have expended them, and that person must have been known; yet, who has ever heard of such an agent? who has ever related one solitary fact, of a single shilling having been expended to promote any of the Elections, or Public Meetings, since 1807, except by the Committees of the Electors?

" The enemies of Reform, who have the monopoly of the daily press, with all the means which it affords, would certainly have known of money being expended by others, as well as by the Committees; and, had money been so expended, it could no more have been hid from them, or from the Committees of your opponents, or from the Parish Officers, or from the Tax and Rate Collectors, or from the select Vestrymen in the several parishes, all of whom have been, at all times, arrayed against you, than many of the vile practices of the ministerial candidate, and his agents, could be hid from your Committee at the last Election.

" Your Committee not only deny, in the most unqualified terms, that any sums of money have been expended, beyond the sums stated in the preceding account, but they challenge all their enemies to shew the contrary.

" Your enemies know those reports are false; but they also know that many persons will be imposed upon by them, and thus made to believe that the same corruption is still going on, in Westminster, which they see going on in almost every county, city, and borough in the kingdom; they know also, that others will believe those reports, because the conduct of the Electors of Westminster displays a virtue of which they are utterly unable to form a conception.

" To the second accusation, ' That Westminster has been influenced by a Junto,' that is, by a very small number of persons, your Committee reply:—

" That the facts are, and they are as notorious as the sun at noon-day, or the Corruption of the House of Commons; that at the several Elections since 1807, the Committees have seldom consisted of so few as one hundred members; the present Committee actually consists of upwards of three hundred.

" These large Committees have necessarily appointed Sub-Committees from their own bodies, for particular purposes, but they have always held the means of controlling those Sub-Committees in their own hands, and have, from time to time, examined into their conduct and accounts, and no Sub-Committee has ever existed,

which was not eager to lay before the General Committee the whole of their proceedings as often as possible.

"Who, it may be asked, compose the Junta? if the assertions of your enemies be carefully examined, it will be found that this Junta consists wholly of your most worthy and excellent Treasurer, Mr. Brooks, to whose care and accuracy and strict economy, the City of Westminster is not less deeply indebted, than it is for his prompt, manly, and liberal conduct, in advancing his own money in some cases of emergency, when, without his assistance, the cause of Reform would most probably have suffered.

"For these advances, or for any other of his services, Mr. Brooks has not in any way received, and does not desire to receive any recompence. Never since 1807 has Mr. Brooks been fully paid the sums he has, from time to time, advanced; but it is presumed, the Electors will no longer suffer his account to remain undischarged.

"The Electors themselves know that they are not, and cannot be influenced; the folly of supposing the contrary seems excessive, and would not be worth a remark, were it not that the calumny has been propagated with an industry equal to its malignity, and may have imposed on many persons who are unacquainted with the mode in which the Electors of Westminster have conducted their public business.

"Influence can only be exerted by the rich and the powerful; by the Aristocracy, the Church, and the Government; every individual of these bodies is, however, restrained within the limits of his or her immediate connexions; and the number of Electors who, after all, are influenced, is very few in comparison with the number of those who are wholly beyond the reach of influence,—who are truly independent.

"If, then, the influence of these powerful bodies be thus comparatively limited, how, and by what means can four or five common tradesmen (and no one has ventured to make the Junta consist of more) acting as a Sub-Committee, influence the whole body of Electors? These Committees have in fact no power, and no influence, all they have ever done, all they ever can do, has been, and must be, to act simply as an organ of communication for the Electors at large, who need no more than arrangements and means of easy communication, which it is the proper business of such Committees to provide,—they need no influencing to induce them to do their duty to their country.

"It was not to be expected that the daily press which had uniformly been opposed to the Radical Reformers, should, on this occasion have voluntarily joined in promoting the Election of Mr.

Hobhouse, and the less so, as your Committee possessed no funds which would enable them to insert, as advertisements Notices of the Public Meetings before mentioned, and the Resolutions passed at those Meetings. By a calculation which has been made, it appears that to have inserted those notices and resolutions, once in each of the daily papers, would have cost upwards of 1,000*l.*, an expense wholly beyond their means, or even their desires, since, in consequence of the very large number of Electors who have come forward on this occasion, other cheaper—more useful—and more efficient means of conveying information have been provided; yet, notwithstanding this, some of those papers have taken a favourable notice of several of those meetings, by inserting the Speeches of Mr. Hobhouse, while others have made them known by their violent abuse and scurrility. One thing, however, is remarkable, but by no means unaccountable; it is, that the only morning paper which took no notice of those meetings (although its reporters attended at some of them) was *The Morning Chronicle*, the accredited organ of the Whigs; and the readers of that paper were left in total ignorance, so far as depended on that paper, that it was even intended to go on to an election with Mr. Hobhouse; and the inference, as your Committee have reason to know, has, in some instances, been drawn that Mr. Hobhouse had been abandoned.

“To several of the weekly papers, the thanks of the Committee, and of the Electors, are due; not only for the notice they have taken of the proceedings in Westminster, but also for some very valuable articles, well calculated to promote the cause of Parliamentary Reform.

“Your Committee are of opinion, that the leading facts respecting the conduct of the parties in the House of Commons, as they regard the great cause of Reform, should be ever present to the minds of the people, who should neither forget the conduct of those who have apostatized from and betrayed that cause, nor your disinterested efforts to promote it.

“Your Committee will, therefore, make a few very brief remarks on some important transactions since the revival of the question of Reform, in 1792.

“In 1792, several societies were instituted for the purpose of procuring a Reform in the Representation of the People. One of these Societies, “The Friends of the People,” was composed of many members of both Houses of Parliament, and of this Society Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, the Hon. Thomas Erskine, now Lord Erskine, and Mr. Mackintosh, now Sir James Mackintosh, were leading members. This Society recommended, and was the means of establishing affiliated societies in various parts of the country.

" In 1793, the Petition of the Friends of the People, for Reform of Parliament, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Grey.

" Among many other allegations which this Petition contained, were the following :

" ' I.—That the House is not an adequate representation of the People of England.

" ' II.—That it is prejudicial to the interests of the People, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution.

" ' III.—That the Elective Franchise is partially and unequally distributed.

" ' IV.—" That the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

" ' V.—That from the combined operation of the defects your petitioners have pointed out, arise scenes of disgraceful confusion, litigation and expense, of tumults, disorders, outrages and perjury.

" ' VI.—That 70 Members are returned by 35 places, where Elections are mere matters of form, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' VII.—That 90 more are elected by 46 places, in none of which, the number of voters exceeds 50, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' VIII.—That 37 more are elected by 19 places, in none of which, the number of voters exceeds 100, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' IX.—That 52 more are chosen by 26 places, in none of which, the number of voters exceeds 200, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' X.—That 30 more are returned for Counties in Scotland, 20 by less than 100 Electors each, and 10 by less than 250 each, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' XI.—That 15 more are returned by 13 districts of Burghs in Scotland, not containing 100 voters each, and by 2 districts of Burghs, not containing 250 each, and this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

" ' XII.—That 84 individuals do, of their own immediate authority, send 157 Members.

" ' XIII.—That 150 Members are returned, not by the collective voice of those who appear to send them, but by the recommendation of 70 powerful individuals.

" ' XIV.—That the total number of Patrons, altogether, are 154, who return a decided majority of the Honourable House."

" It is almost needless to say, that the House refused to receive the proofs which were offered.

" In 1794, when Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Lord Grenville,

were persecuting the Reformers, Mr. Grey, who was the organ of his party said; 'That, on a former occasion, Mr. Pitt had, with others, resolved, that, considering it was in vain to look to Parliament for a regeneration originating within itself, it be recommended to the People, throughout the kingdom, to assemble during the ensuing summer, in districts, for the purpose of applying to Parliament on the subject.—But,' continued Mr. Grey, 'W. Pitt, the Reformer of that day, was W. Pitt, the prosecutor, aye, and the persecutor too of Reformers now! He who thought fit to inflame the passions of the People, and to instigate them to a contempt of the House of Commons, then, would not, at present, allow the People to judge of their own rights and dearest interests, but persecuted with the real bitterness of an Apostate, his own partner in the question of Reform. This same William Pitt, who had taught the People to believe that nothing honest was to be expected from the House of Commons, now asserted that the People should do nothing for themselves. But, if the language of applying to the People for a reform, be criminal,' said Mr. Grey, 'I myself am guilty, since *I do not scruple to assert, that, from this House I have no hopes of Parliamentary Reform.*—THIS HOUSE WILL NEVER REFORM ITSELF; or *destroy the corruption by which it is upheld, by any other means than those of the resolutions of the People, acting upon the prudence of the House,—that point THEY COULD ONLY ACCOMPLISH BY MEETING IN BODIES,* as recommended by the Minister in 1782.—However impugned, Parliamentary Reform was a cause he, Mr. Grey, would never desert; nor would he, to preserve power, or to gratify ambition, ever become an APOSTATE.'

"Nothing can be more severe than the indignation so properly expressed, by Mr. Grey, against those who had apostatized from the cause of Reform: and nothing can bring public men into contempt so completely, as such unprincipled and shameless apostacy. When, therefore, Mr. Grey, and the whole of his party, joined with the Grenvilles, the unrelenting persecutors of Reform, they justly incurred the contempt of the People. One effect of this coalition was, that the People having lost all confidence in Public Men, seemed to give up the cause of Parliamentary Reform in despair; they even ceased to discuss the subject, and the consequence was, that both sides of the House ceased to talk of the People.

"In this state was the nation, when, in 1807, the Electors of Westminster emancipated themselves from the control of both the aristocratical factions, and once more roused the attention of the People to their vital interests, and encouraged them to renew their efforts for the destruction of corruption.

"The feelings excited by the Electors of Westminster mainly

contributed to expose, still further, the enormous iniquities of both the factions.

"The veil, which had formerly been attempted to be drawn over the iniquities of the Borough Traffic, was removed, and, at length, as if to convince the world that the one party was not a jot better than the other party, the then LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, unblushingly avowed in DEFENCE OF THE MINISTER, 'That the Sale of Seats was as notorious as the sun at noon-day.' It was this which induced the SPEAKER to say 'That the question now before the House, is no less than this: WHETHER SEATS IN THIS HOUSE SHALL BE, HENCEFORTH, PUBLICLY SALEABLE?' A proposition, at the sound of which our ancestors would have startled with indignation; but a practice which, in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of Parliament, has been avowed and justified.

"The sale of seats," continued the Speaker, 'degrades and debases the habits of the higher ranks of life, who confess their own sense of the nature of these transactions, by the concealment with which they seek to cover them: it taints and contaminates the general character of Parliament. Fraud, force, corrupt practices, and undue influence, of any sort, by which the freedom of Election is controled, have been reprobated in all ages: IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE VERY IDEA OF ELECTIONS THAT THEY SHOULD BE FREE. Such is the ancient language of the statute of Westminster, in the reign of Edward I. Such, also, is the modern language of the Bill of Rights. It is for us, who have before us such flagrant proofs, that the traffic in seats has broken through the existing checks, to put it down by a new law.'

"But, though the evil was thus openly admitted and thus publicly condemned; though a new law, by which it was pretended that the evil would be checked, was made, no effectual means to put a stop to the mischief, were adopted. The just demands of the people were called popular encroachments, and to resist them, both battalions of the regiment, equally regardless of reputation, rallied round the Minister.

"In the mean time, the question of Parliamentary Reform became the subject of more frequent discussion, both within and without the House of Commons, than at any former period; and it is a fact, well worthy of your constant remembrance, that, in proportion as knowledge increased among the People, and they felt their own importance, so were they abandoned, first by one, and then by another of those party men, until, at length, not one of them remained; thus proving that they never intended that the People should act for themselves; and thus it happened that, in 1817, when a more decided interest was taken by the People in their own affairs;

'the two Battalions of the well-trained Regiment,' vied with each other in the abuse of all Reform and all Reformers; but, as if doomed to sink still lower, no sooner was the late General Election ended, than the Ours, thinking they had gained accession of strength, by a few men from the other Battalion, could no longer contain their exultation. In the delirium of the moment, when, to their disordered imaginations, the whole power of the state seemed within their grasp, they published a kind of Manifesto, in which they disavowed and disclaimed all connexion with Reformers; and, in substance, declared that Retrenchment and Reform of Abuses was, alone, the master principle of the party. That by retrenchment and the reform of (petty) abuses, they should satisfy one part of the disaffected, and that they would combat the other with the strong arm of the law.

"Your Committee are fully convinced that no man, who does not wilfully shut his eyes and refuse to hear, or in any way attend to passing events, can now be deceived, or led to expect any amelioration in the state of the country, from any thing but the exertions of the People in the way recommended by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grey. If the People steadily act upon a resolution to obtain Parliamentary Reform, they will assuredly save themselves from a military despotism, or a sanguinary revolution.

"The Electors of Westminster have always been willing to join with any man, or any body of men, in inculcating the necessity and aiding the progress of Reform. It is of small importance to them what the particular plan may be; what they regard as essential, is, that the plan proposed should be sufficient to effect the object at which they aim. But they will neither be drawn aside by specious pretences, nor will they cease to pursue their object, because it is abandoned by others. No apostacy on the part of others—no disappointments or disgusts will make them relax their efforts, in a cause, the success of which, experience has shewn to be essentially necessary to the establishment of good government.

"Your Committee cannot conclude without congratulating you on the progress made in the cause of Reform, and on the prospect of the still further progress, the return of Mr. Hobhouse will promote; neither can they refrain from urging you not to relax in your endeavours for one moment; they trust every Elector will pursue his object as if success depended on his exertions alone, and ever to bear in mind, that *victory is never gained until the contest is ended.*"

Mr. HOBHOUSE being called for, then rose, and spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen, it is now nearly three months since I met the Electors

of Westminster in this room:—Since then I have taken every opportunity of communicating with them in the separate parishes, and they have been kind enough to devise means unusual, indeed, and therefore so much the more gratifying to me, by which I have presented myself to their notice, and have enjoyed their social intercourse.

It may appear at first somewhat strange, that after this intercourse I should be more embarrassed than at our first meeting; and yet such a feeling is most natural:—for if on that day I were fortunate enough to raise any expectation of justifying your choice, I must now be the more anxious to know whether those expectations have been answered, or have been disappointed. One pledge which my kind friend, your honourable Chairman, made for me in November, I have, at least, redeemed. Certainly, I am grown older since the day of my nomination. If I have not grown wiser, likewise, it is not the fault of the Electors of Westminster, with whom I have had the happiness to associate in the interval: for, if I may presume to praise, I declare that I have found their intelligence equal to their integrity; and that I know of no political lessons so likely to form an honest politician, as those which are to be imbibed in their patriotic school. After the Report you have just heard, it would be presumptuous and superfluous in me to account for the manner in which the interval since our last meeting here has been spent on my part. Thus much I may, however, say, that I have had every reason to be highly gratified with your flattering kindness towards me—and that I hope you have, as yet, seen no reason to suspect that that kindness has been thrown away upon an unworthy object. (*Great applause, and cries of "No! no!"*)

Certainly, Gentlemen, it cannot but be the source of the most gratifying reflections to find myself the object of solicitude to so large a portion of my fellow-citizens. Indeed, if such a proportion of Electors could give proportionate weight to a candidate, I should be fairly intoxicated at the recollection, that the numbers of those gentlemen who have undertaken more especially to promote my return, is greater than that of the Electors of twenty-five boroughs all taken together. For your general Committee alone consists of near 350 persons, and I find that fifty members are returned to Parliament by 388 votes. (*Cries of "Shame! shame!"*)

It is a source of still greater pride to me to recollect, that the recommendation which has recommended me to so favourable a notice from my fellow citizens—has been of that kind which is totally independent of exterior qualifications; and, that without any of the usual attractions derived from high station or party connexion, my presumed principles alone have formed the motive, as, I trust, they will prove the justification, of your choice. This motive cannot

reflect less credit on the makers than on the objects of the selection. It shews that you understand your duty—it shews that you are determined to perform it—it shows that you are not to be caught by the usual allurer ; but think that the best qualification—the only qualification of a representative in Parliament, is, that he shall speak the language of his constituents—and, instead of being the advocate of any individual interests, boldly appear as the champion of the public cause.

If, Gentlemen, you had been influenced by any other motives, you certainly might have made another choice. Indeed, your representation was far from despised or thought not worth the winning. Some of your suitors were rather rude—others a little coy, and wooing to be prest; yet you had offers enough, and it was your own fault if an alliance did not take place between you and some happy man, backed either by all the power of the Court, or all the promises of their opponents. But, by some unaccountable depravity of taste, you preferred a humbler object—one as little connected with the one party as the other—one, who if he should ever be joined to you by those honourable ties which you seem to destine for him, will not perpetually harass your ears with the merits of his own noble connexions, but will be content with the dignity derived from his alliance with you.

There is a saying reported of a politician, that an independent man is a man upon whom nobody can depend. Now this may be true of those neutral squadrons, that seem to watch the moment of making themselves of importance, by throwing their five and twenty votes into the scale when the balance is really at a poise between the two parties; and like the ambiguous bats, join the pampered beasts or expectant birds of prey, just as their help may be most wanted, and, of course, may be of most worth to themselves. But certain it is, in face of this *bon-mot*, that it is the real independent man who is wanted in parliament. I will not describe this much desired, this rare character. Indeed you will feel it much more readily than I can define it. You have the noble living example before your eyes. (*Shouts of applause.*) It is easy to collect this general want from the general feeling of the country. I say THE COUNTRY IS SICK OF PARTY. (*True, true.*) I say that *it is so sick of party, that it will no longer take promises for performances, no longer prefer persons to principles, no longer be caught by names instead of examining into things.* I repeat, Gentlemen, THE COUNTRY IS SO SICK OF PARTY, that it looks with suspicion even upon measures in themselves unobjectionable, and upon men not dishonest, wherever those measures are tried by those men under any circumstances that give them the least taint of party purposes.

It is possible that some men may be conscientiously convinced of the utility of *co-operation*. This, however, we may venture to say,

that the said co-operation does not include the certainty of any *operation* whatever. (*Applauses.*) I will tell you what co-operation does: it gives a man another cause to fight for than that, for the advancement of which, his constituents sent him to Parliament. It sacrifices his respectability, and converts the leader of or the steward of the people into the follower or the pupil of an individual. It cramps and crushes the free exercise of the understanding, as well as the exertion of those virtues which might otherwise be useful to the state. It interferes with good intentions, and by degrees accustoms the enslaved disciple to substitute expediency for right, and in place of that public principle which should direct all his actions, to square his conduct by an example that must occasionally be vicious, and to bow down before good taste, tact, and the other idolatries of a corrupt assembly. So much for co-operation, which it is now the fashion to recommend, but which when called by the old word *coalition*, (a term not quite, but nearly synonymous,) every Englishman from smarting experience, has courage to condemn. Then, indeed; we are awake. We fancy we see the combining politicians sacrificing their principles, as the ancient triumvirs did their relations, for the common object of domination, and we start at a friendship so fatal to liberty; or we imagine we behold the factions of Rome in the middle ages, agreeing upon a peace, one article of which must be the mutual right of dilapidating the monuments of ancient grandeur for the purpose of building up palaces for themselves. Thus it is, that if the struggles of party are dangerous, their concord is still more fatal, and our Constitution stands like the Coliseum, a sad and shattered evidence of their selfish compacts.

Gentlemen, it is a great mistake to suppose, that party co-operation renders necessary a sacrifice only of minute differences; it requires a sacrifice of vital principles. The leaders of such a co-operation will naturally keep back the agitation of such questions as are likely to shew any difference of opinions in his battalion, and he would rather weight his best hounds, than whip away a single skirter that may serve to swell his pack. It will be the object of such a leader never to bring before the public any but vague questions to catch all latitudinarians; never to fix upon a single principle which may frighten the weak or the wary; it will be his object to generalise rather than to specify—to wander round about a meaning rather than to define. If he be a friend to Parliamentary Reform, he will include his wishes for that great object under the reform of all abuses, for fear of driving away the borough-proprietors or the preferred abettors of corruption, who may just at that time happen to frequent his camp. We have, Gentlemen, an illustration at hand. We saw that one hundred and sixty Members of Parliament voted the other day upon a question (that of the Bank), so worded that it

signified little or nothing which way any body voted. We saw that the same leader of opposition who proposed that question, and who, when he stood for the Borough, said that his friends came to vote not for *George Tierney*, but for *Reform*, did not at the great Opposition Dinner, the other day, propose Parliamentary Reform as a toast; and if any one had done so, it is probable some thirty or forty of these Whigs would have taken up their hats and left the room.

Perhaps, indeed, according to the present ridiculous state of the representation, a man sent into Parliament from a summer-house, as at Gatton, or a sheep-cot, as at Old Sarum, may think it expedient to combine in order to become respectable. Perhaps, the dry sticks of Parliament must be bound together in order to give the fagot strength; but in my opinion, a man who should lay the representation of Westminster at the feet of any party leader would be a traitor. (*Great applause.*) For myself, Gentlemen, I assure you I would as little inscribe my name in the muster-roll of Opposition, as I would partake of the coals and candles of Somerset House or the Admiralty. There is, however, a great difference between voting *with* an opposition, and voting *for* an opposition. The first is necessary under the reign of a vile administration; the second cannot, in my way of thinking, be the primary object of an honest representative of the people. I conceive that your representative should be a steady opponent of every iniquitous measure of government; but that he should not look about to see who is doing duty with him, he should be content that he is performing his own task—performing the task which you sent him to perform. If a man should adopt a different way of thinking, if he should never act in Parliament, but whiff defended by a *number*, he would do nothing,—he would do worse than nothing,—he would acquiesce in the present system of misrepresentation, he would not stir a finger in the great object of *Radical Reform*. In attaining this object, I see no sort of prospect of any of this famous *co-operation*, which is to do such wonders in Parliament. On the contrary, I see that those gentlemen who call themselves Moderate Reformers, have declared by manifesto, that they will do nothing whilst our wild visionary notions are afloat. These are their words, as I find them in their accredited journal, the *Edinburgh Review*. “We must reserve for a future occasion such thoughts as have occurred to us on those plans of constitutional Reform which might gradually unite the most reasonable friends of freedom, and of which we should not be without hope, that some part might one day be adopted under the conduct of a firm as well as liberal government, and when almost all reformers shall have openly renounced those extravagant opinions which supply the champions of abuse with the most effective wea-

pons.”* Gentlemen, if this is not defining the intended benefit indefinitely, if it is not adjourning Reform *sine die*, I know not what language is good for. First is to come the union, but only the “*gradual*” union of the friends of freedom; but these friends are to be the “most *reasonable*” friends. That being accomplished, there is *hope*, but only a *little* hope, that a *part*, but only *some* part of a plan of constitutional Reform, may *one day* be adopted; but that one day is to come only under a government of a certain description, and when almost all *extravagant* opinions on a speculative point shall be renounced, *aye*, and *openly* renounced. If I am sent into Parliament, it will be as one of those *extravagant* Reformers; and as for myself, Gentlemen, believe me, I shall never feel inclined to do penance in a white sheet for my *extravagant* opinions on this subject; which opinions, give me leave to observe, were pretty much the fashion, about twenty years ago, with this very party which now recommends their renunciation; for it was with them, and with their leader particularly, if I mistake not, that originated the word *RADICAL Reform*. The resolution of the meeting in November, which first connected me with you, is to this effect, and pledges me to the support of the now *extravagant* opinion, that the people have “*just claims to Parliaments of a short duration, and to a full, free, and equal share in the choice of their Representatives.*” To these opinions, you may depend upon it, I shall for ever adhere. If you, Gentlemen, think me the best man under all present circumstances to advocate these principles, choose me—if not, choose another.—The same wish for the public good which first induced me to accept your invitation, will command me to retire the moment you see reason to consider any of the candidates as more worthy of your choice.

Mr. Hobhouse retired from the table amidst the acclamations of the assembly.

Mr. ROUNTHWAITE moved—

“That the energetic measures which have been pursued by the Parochial Committees be continued, until their object shall have been accomplished.”

Mr. THELWALL seconded the motion, in a speech of great animation. The motion echoed, he said, the very sentiment and the most anxious wish of his heart; perseverance, active, resolute, and determined, in that unanimity, which, notwithstanding the omens of neglect in a certain quarter, alone, was wanting to secure the triumph, not of Westminster only, but of Liberty and Reform altogether—perseverance to the end, till their triumph was complete in the actual return of the candidate (Mr. Hobhouse) whom

* Edinburgh Review. Article “Universal Suffrage,” for Dec. 1818.

they had put in nomination. In saying this, it could be no offence to that Gentleman to say that there was nothing personal in the preference; it was the principle he stood for, not the man; and unanimity and consistency being the desire of every true friend of liberty, the very circumstance of his having been put in nomination, and decidedly approved by the former Meeting, ought now to hold every friend to freedom and reform to support him to the last, unless it could be shewn that he had since done any thing to forfeit the good opinion they had entertained. For his own part, he had watched the Hon. Gentleman from the day of his nomination, with the scrutinizing severity which, as he had determined to exert his voice and humble efforts in the cause, he regarded as an imperious duty—Mr. Hobhouse being to him, as it were, a new man, who was yet to be probed and tried: and he must say, that, upon the whole, what he had seen, and what he had heard, had fully confirmed his first impressions; and that he must now regard the friends of Reform in Westminster to be doubly pledged, by respect for their own cause, and justice to their candidate, to secure his election. In saying this, he did not, however, mean to insinuate an actual and entire accordance in every point with the Honourable Gentleman. The difference of their years, their pursuits, their studies, and their associations, would necessarily have produced some shades of difference in some of the multitudinous topics connected with the pursuit of a common principle; and he would shew, for example, his feeling upon the subject of accommodation, by shewing that none of these minute differences should interfere with the heartiness and enthusiasm of his general accord. He could wish, however, that the friends of liberty should habituate themselves to mark with strict discrimination the difference between coalition, or sacrifice of principle, for the adjustment of personal views and interests; accommodation to views differing from our own in extent rather than principle; and factious separatism from personal preferences and personal feelings—which last, and which alone, could disappoint the hopes of the friends of liberty. They would not coalesce with those who should arrogate to themselves the name of Whigs, without manifesting any particle of the principles of Whiggism: but if there were Whigs, or any else, that would help forward the cause of Reform ever so little, they would accommodate themselves to him, so far as to take with cordiality the portion of co-operation that was offered. They would get the whole of their rights at once, if they could have them; but they would take them piecemeal, in any proportions they could get them, rather than have none at all. He then animadverted with severity upon the supineness of the Opposition thus far, upon the subject of Reform, but said he should rejoice to be called upon to retract the calumny,

and would be happy for once to be proved a calumniator, by their bringing forward any measure for any degree of Reform in the representation. Returning more directly to the subject of the resolution, he deprecated, in this stage of the business, any attempt at division, or nomination of another candidate. There were those, he said, who talked of nominating Major Cartwright. He venerated that patriarch of Reform from the deepest recesses of his heart, and he would consider it as one of the proudest days for British freedom that should see that upright and unwearied patriot returned, by any body of independent Electors, to the House of Commons. But with all these feelings glowing in his bosom, he should regard the person who should now propose him, however unintentionally, as a traitor to the public cause. A Meeting had been held for the nomination of Candidates. It was competent to any Elector at that time to have nominated Major Cartwright. He was not then nominated: another was nominated, and by a vast majority approved. Since that time, every honorable exertion had been made in behalf of that Candidate—the enemy had been driven from the field; and nothing but relaxation of their vigilance, or disunion among themselves, could disappoint them of their ultimate triumph. In such a state of things, the person who should propose Major Cartwright, would slander, in reality, the grey hairs of that venerable Reformer, by imputing to him so narrow a principle as preferring the personal gratification of being a Candidate, or even the prospect of being a Representative of Westminster, to the unanimity which at present prevailed, and the assured success which nothing but ill-timed division could endanger. He then entreated permission to submit to them the last page of the Report, which he had borrowed for the purpose. In strict accordance with this sentiment, in the last page of the Report was the motion he had the honour of seconding. Some, perhaps, there were, to whom the tumult of dissension was more acceptable than the triumph of public principle; but he solemnly exhorted every real friend of liberty—every lover of the rights and happiness of mankind—every individual who would not bastardise himself as the spurious mixture of some foreign stock—but would shew the pure legitimacy of his blood (a legitimacy of more importance than one that was much talked about at present), and would shew his descent from those Anglo-Saxon ancestors who had laid the first foundations of our constitutional liberties, to rally round the Candidate of their nomination.

Mr. HUNT came forward to address the Meeting, but the uproar became so great, that the Chairman was under the necessity of entreating the attention of the Meeting to any Gentleman who wished to address them.

A partial hearing being obtained,

Mr. HUNT said, that he attended here to-day to put some questions to Mr. Hobhouse. He never saw him, to the best of his knowledge, before the last day's Meeting. He had then with great modesty and decorum, withdrawn, while his own immediate merits were the topic of conversation. In his absence, on the last day, his friends answered some questions which he (Mr. Hunt) had put to them respecting the pretensions of Mr. Hobhouse. One Gentleman (Mr. Thelwall) rather angrily said, Mr. Hobhouse had done a great deal to shew his principles, for he had thrown away his family sooner than abandon his principles. (Mr. Thelwall here denied having made use of this declaration.)

Mr. HUNT resumed—He said, that some such expressions were used on the former occasion, and the Chairman had said it was no slight sacrifice for a man to make, to give up his family to support his opinions. But it was due to the Chairman to say, that he contradicted this part of the Report of his speech in a letter from the country. A letter also came forth from Mr. Hobhouse on the occasion, which did honour to his head and heart. It shewed he was not about to palm himself upon the Electors of Westminster under this disguise, but that he was living in complete concord with his own family.—(*Cries of "What have we to do with his family?"*) And the opposition to Mr. Hunt became so general, that the Chairman was obliged again to appeal to the Meeting to obtain for him a hearing.)

Mr. HUNT, as soon as silence could be obtained, contended for his right to be heard on the present occasion. Fair play was his motto—he meant to deal fairly, and hoped respectfully, but without disguise, with particular individuals. Mr. Hobhouse had stated that he was ready to answer any questions which might be put to him. He would therefore ask that Gentleman, if he recollected making any strong personal allusion to him, some time ago, at the Gun Tavern?

Mr. HOBHOUSE replied, most certainly not.

Mr. HUNT then said, it must have been an error in the newspaper reports.—(*A laugh.*)—Mr. Hobhouse was in them represented to have said, that an individual during the last contest had had the audacity to mount an orange cockade, and a cap of liberty, the emblem of revolution, and that he had no doubt the individual who had done so, would have no hesitation to wade up to his knees in blood to attain his object.—(*Loud and continued opposition to the speaker.*)—He then charged the Chairman with having said that it was impossible to secure Major Cartwright's return; the Major's friends were of a different opinion, and they meant at the last Meeting to have proposed him, were it not for a trick by which they were prevented from obtaining a hearing. Mr. Wooler, who

meant to have proposed the Major, was put down because he was no elector; and while the Baronet held that all parties were heard at the last Meeting, had prevented Mr. J. Gale Jones being heard.—*(A long interruption was again occasioned by the disinclination to hear Mr. Hunt.)*—If they did not think Mr. Hobhouse able to answer the questions which he meant to put to him, then they did right in keeping up the tumult. If they thought he had an answer, they should allow him the opportunity of giving it. He meant to propose an amendment to the motion now before the Chair, which was, that as the Major's friends were prevented by management from having a hearing at the former Meeting, all the proceedings which flowed from it must be considered as irregular; and that a new Meeting should be called in Palace-yard, to enable the Electors of Westminster to consider of a proper person to fill up the present vacancy in their representation. The former proceedings were unfair, his (Mr. Hunt's) friends were refused admission, while the friends of the Hon. Baronet had free ingress.—*(Cries of "No, No.")* He concluded by moving the following amendment:—

"That, in consequence of the proceedings of the last Meeting, held in this room, having been charged, by several persons, with having been unfairly conducted, a General Meeting of the Electors of Westminster be called in Palace Yard, to consider of a proper person to represent Westminster."

Mr. HOBHOUSE denied having alluded to Mr. Hunt in the manner he had pointed out. What he had said at the Gun Tavern, in Pimlico, was this—that the Court —, Caleb Baldwin, had hoisted an orange cockade, and that he (Mr. Hobhouse) had no doubt that the same persons who steeped the kennels in Dublin with blood, would not stop at the renewal of such sanguinary scenes in the streets of London. He disclaimed having made the allusion to Mr. Hunt—it was meant for a very different quarter.

Mr. WOOLER denied that he attended the last Meeting for the purpose of proposing Major Cartwright, but he did attend in the full and confident expectation that such a proposition would have been made, and was only dissuaded from making such a motion himself; when he found no fitter person stepping forward to do it, by the expression of opinion from certain quarters, that there was no chance of being able eventually to secure the Major's election. He lamented this apparent apathy to the long and noble services of the venerable advocate of Reform. It was another proof of public ingratitude to an old and long-tried patriot.—*(Great applause.)*—When the late vacancy occurred, he had heard of the proposition for Mr. Kinnaird with great surprise—he did not mean to disparage that Gentleman, but he could not look upon his claims as bearing any comparison with those of the venerable Major's. The fact was,

he was convinced the latter might have succeeded, if his cause had been, as it ought, heartily espoused, for the Court hiring fled at the approach of a steady and organised opposition. From the caution and circumspection about selecting a popular candidate, one would have thought Sir Murray Maxwell was a great Goliath, and that it required a second David to contend with him.—(*Laughter.*) He knew it would be the pride and glory of Major Cartwright to get into Parliament; if he fell there, he would at least fall in the tomb of the nation's liberties. He concluded by recommending a short delay, to ascertain what steps might yet be taken to secure the Major's return at the ensuing election—and he conjured Mr. Hobhouse to defer for the present to the Major his honourable purpose.

Major TORRENS made an animated appeal to the Meeting, in which he did justice to the merits and services of Major Cartwright, and regretted the impossibility of putting him in nomination with any prospect of eventual success. They had already seen the venerable Major put in nomination, and the very small support which he on that occasion received. His friends had now lost the public opportunity of putting him in nomination, and it would, he thought, be unfair to start his pretensions, great as they undoubtedly were, to bar the success of such measures as had already been matured for another popular candidate.

Mr. GALE JONES made several efforts to obtain a hearing, but without effect.

Doctor WATSON read a letter from a Gentleman named Northmore, in support of Major Cartwright's claims.

Mr. CAMPBELL recommended union and concord to the Friends of Reform.

Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY said he was not an elector, but he would only detain them while he uttered three short sentences:—The first was, That he conceived Major Cartwright had been ill treated; the second was, That he held in his hand, a published letter from Major Cartwright, on the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett and the Westminster Committee, which he thought called for an answer from both; and the third and last sentence was, That he recommended an acquiescence in the proposition of Mr. Wooler, to pause and see what steps could yet be taken in support of the Major.—(*Applause.*)

The CHAIRMAN desired to know whether any other person wished to address the Meeting, before he rose to make a few observations. No person appearing, the Chairman proceeded to express his astonishment at the charge of partiality which had been brought against him by Mr. Hunt, for that Gentleman had expressed his sense of the impartiality with which he (Sir F. Burdett) had treated him.—("Yes," observed Mr. Hunt, "so far as regards

myself, but not with respect to others.") Sir Francis then asked Mr. Jones—Did I interfere with your speaking, Mr. Jones?—(Mr. Jones said, "No, YOU DID NOT.") He should be sorry if any impression went abroad, that he had not discharged his duty in the Chair with impartiality, when his uniform practice was to allow even a latitude on such occasions. Mr. Hunt had alluded to an incorrect statement which had found its way into a report of his speech at the last Meeting. Reports of speeches at crowded public meetings were often inaccurate, because the task of taking them was one of great difficulty. What he did say on that occasion was, that the known warmth of attachment which Mr. Hobhouse had for his family was peculiarly great; but that still he had been impelled by a sense of paramount duty to adhere to his own political principles, notwithstanding the painful private feelings which this difference must have imposed upon a man of his warm domestic attachment. Mr. Hunt had insinuated, that when he (the Chairman) spoke of Major Cartwright's little chance of success in the struggle, he had done so after an understanding with the Major.—(*Mr. Hunt, "I supposed so."*)—It was hard to be made answerable for acts, and sentiments, and opinions, which a man never did hold; but it was still harder to be made responsible for even the suppositions which might enter into any Gentleman's mind.—(*A laugh, and Hear!*)—But for this supposition of Mr. Hunt there was not the smallest foundation. He had always plainly and frankly expressed his opinion that Major Cartwright had no chance of succeeding in getting returned for Westminster; indeed he had till now conceived the pure patriotism of the Major to have been unaccompanied by any selfish feeling of vanity. Indeed he had even expressed his wish that the Major should not get into Parliament—first, because he thought it would occasion his death; and, secondly, because he thought the House of Commons the last place in the country in which the Major could serve the cause of liberty. He had never undervalued the venerable Major's perseverance and efforts; on the contrary, he had uniformly praised them; but he thought they were more effective for the people in the manner in which the Major was accustomed to make them—by his writings and addresses.—(*Applause.*)—Such being his opinion, he avowed it, and this was the "head and front of his offending." He was sorry to be obliged to make any remark upon the Major's recent letter, which had been alluded to by Sir C. Wolseley. He had talked of "tricks and management." By whom were they made, and of what did they consist? Why did he in this respect give countenance to what he knew, from his own actual knowledge, to be the falsehoods of Mr. Cobbett? The Major should have been above countenancing insinuations

which he knew were groundless. The Chairman concluded thus:—"Major Cartwright says in his letter, that I may end my days like the Duke of Richmond, in the office of Master-General of the Ordnance. I really cannot say, how, or in what situation, I may end my days—he must indeed be a bold man who can predict his future acts; for any thing I can at present know, I can't say that I may not become an oyster; but I may venture to express a belief, that while my faculties and feelings continue, the day will never come which shall separate me from the assertion of the liberties of the people.—(*Great applause.*)—I trust that a plain straight forward line of conduct will in a little time furnish the best answer to the censure which has been cast upon me. I know I must be liable to misrepresentation, and to my share of calumny; but for the judgment of my acts I am ready to throw myself on the opinion of my country.—(*Applause.*)—If it were a crime to nominate such a man as Mr. Hobhouse, and to have that nomination affirmed by a body of 1,400 Electors, such as are now present, I then am guilty of that crime. Of Mr. Hobhouse I should say nothing, and for this plain reason, because he is now present. But let my conduct be as base as blackness can make it, what is that to the course you are called on to pursue in the election of a Member to be your Representative in Parliament? It was for you to proceed in the performance of your duty in the manner which your own judgment should suggest, without digressing into what might have been my character or acts. If the venerable Major has cause to complain against any one, I think it is against his friends who have been so tardy in advancing his claims, and who, when they did advance them, really did so with so little advantage to the object of their regard, and with such a disadvantage to the Friends of Freedom already arrayed in the business of the Election."—(*Great applause.*)

Mr. Hunt's amendment was now put and rejected by an immense majority, seven hands only being held up for it.

The original Resolution was then carried by acclamation, not more than twelve persons dissenting.

It was then moved and seconded:—

"That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Sir Francis Burdett, for his able and impartial conduct in the Chair, and also for his continued exertions to procure for the people of England their lost share in the Government of the Country."

On the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative, by acclamation, with only two dissentient voices.

The Meeting was then dissolved.

This meeting having terminated so favourably, it was not imagined that there would be any opposition to Mr. Hobhouse from any Reformer; but the next day there appeared large placards in the streets, which stated, that Sir Francis Burdett had declared that "if Major Cartwright should be proposed, Sir Francis would vote for him." It was, therefore, generally understood that Major Cartwright would be proposed. On Wednesday appeared the High Bailiff's Rescript, fixing the Election for the Saturday following, Feb. 13. The next day, a violent letter in the Morning Chronicle, addressed to Mr. Hobhouse, seemed to announce that the Whigs were resolved to oppose that gentleman, who was called upon explicitly to state his opinion as to "*Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage*."

"TO JOHN CAM HORHOUSE, ESQ.

"Sir—Your speech to the Meeting of Westminster Electors on Tuesday last, at the Crown and Anchor, has so totally destroyed your character for fair and honourable dealing; that many of us who were once disposed to think well of you in this respect, now feel ourselves compelled to bring your professions to the test, and to call upon you for a distinct, specific avowal of what you mean to do on the question of Reform, when you shall be returned to Parliament.

"You are asked, then, in the name of the Independent Interest of Westminster, *If any proposition shall be submitted to the House of Commons for ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS and UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, will you, or will you not vote for such proposition?*

"It will not do to tell us that you are a friend to Radical Reform. What do you understand by 'Radical Reform?'

"Do you mean the Radical Reform of the Constitution of the House of Commons, or do you mean the Radical Reform of the abuses in the Government of the State?

"If you mean the first, tell us whether you consider as radical any Reform which shall fall short of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage?

"If you mean the last, retract your calumnious attack on Mr. Fox and his friends in your speech of Tuesday. You there said, after avowing yourself in favour of the *Court doctrines* against party, 'that the leader (meaning Mr. Fox) whose memory a certain party was celebrating throughout the country, was the prominent advocate of THAT RADICAL REFORM which the members of this party were daily sneering and scoffing at.'

"Mr. Fox, and you know it, Sir, never was the advocate of Annual Parliaments or of Universal Suffrage; nor does the party of which he was the leader, or any member of it within the walls

of Parliament, or any supporter of its principles out of Parliament, 'sneer and scoff at' that Radical Reform of abuses in the Government of the State, which it was the labour of Mr. Fox's life, and which it is still the labour of theirs, to effect.

"And this likewise *you know*, Mr. Hobhouse!

"AN ELECTOR OF WESTMINSTER."

It was now distinctly seen, that the Report of the Committee and Mr. Hobhouse's speech against party, had offended the Whigs. The editor of *The Morning Chronicle* having been charged in the Report, with taking no notice whatever of the efforts making by the Reformers in Westminster, to expel the court candidate, denied the justice of the remark, by saying, that his paper never admitted electioneering advertisements without payment, a line of conduct adopted by him as the only means of preserving his independence.* It may be permitted here to remark, that the Report did not complain of *The Chronicle* not admitting electioneering advertisements: it only called the attention of the Electors to that silence which to many must have appeared very strange, as several of the daily, and almost all the weekly newspapers had devoted some of their columns to the speeches of Mr. Hobhouse at the parish meetings. No Whig candidate was, however, named as likely to be proposed, nor was any thing known of such an intention until midnight on Friday; when an application was made to Mr. Hodgson, of the Piazza Coffee-House, for the use of his rooms to accommodate a Committee for conducting the Election of the HONORABLE GEORGE LAMB: Mr. Hodgson refused.

Early on Saturday morning, placards were posted over Westminster—"GEORGE LAMB FOR WESTMINSTER;" and the following advertisements appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* :—

"WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

"At a Meeting of many of the friends and supporters of the late Sir Samuel Romilly, held this night, Feb. 12, 1819,

"It was unanimously resolved,—

"That it does not appear to this Meeting that the political creed avowed by either of the Gentlemen who have been proposed for the choice of the people of Westminster, is such as is entitled to our support.

"That the name of the Hon. GEORGE LAMB having been suggested, and that Gentleman having given the Meeting assurance of his firm attachment to Sir Samuel Romilly's principles, and expressed his readiness to come forward, if required, we pledge ourselves to use our utmost exertions to procure his return.

* *Morning Chronicle*, February 10, 1819.

"That the several parishes are invited to convene Meetings forthwith, for the purpose of appointing Committees, and proceeding to an active and unremitting canvass.

"Signed (by desire of the Meeting,)

"JAMES MACDONALD, Chairman."

"To the Worthy and Independent Electors of Westminster.

"Gentlemen,—The latest moment at which a Candidate can come forward with a prospect of success has now arrived. Tomorrow you are to supply the melancholy vacancy in your representation. To find an adequate successor to him whom you have lost too soon for your own and his country's interest, was from the first hopeless, and has proved impossible. But, Gentlemen, the loud and generous call of so many enlightened and independent classes of Electors for a Candidate whose sentiments might be more congenial to their own than those of the two Gentlemen already put in nomination, ought not to be unanswered, from any fear of personal charge of presumption. It is in obedience to that call alone, and with the most unfeigned sense of my own inferiority that I venture to stand forward to ask your suffrages.

"My claim to the support of the people who returned Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY triumphantly to Parliament, is founded simply on an ADHERENCE TO HIS PRINCIPLES, as exemplified in his political career, and professed by himself from the hustings, when at the close of the last poll he addressed you as his Constituents for the first and last time.

"His splendid talents commanded your admiration; but it was to his principles and integrity that you gave your confidence. However rare and transcendent those talents were, his principles and integrity, at least, may be cherished and imitated; and if I attain the honour of representing you in Parliament, I pledge myself to make them the invariable guide of my public conduct.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful Servant,

"GEORGE LAMB.

"Whitehall, Feb 12, 1819."

It was a fine day, and the High Bailiff, under the expectation of no contest taking place, had erected only an open scaffolding, instead of the usual covered Hastings. About nine o'clock the crowd began to assemble. Mr. Hunt made his appearance, and announced "they were to have another fifteen days of it." This intelligence was favourably received by some of those who had accompanied Mr. Hunt to the scaffolding. In half an hour, Mr. Hobhouse, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, the Honorable

Douglas Kinnaird, and some of the Electors, proceeded from the Committee-room in King-street, to the scene of action. Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. Lambton, Lord John Russell, and several others of the Whig party, appeared behind the railings of Covent Garden church. At ten o'clock, Arthur Morris, Esq. the High Bailiff, mounted the stage, accompanied by the Deputy Bailiff Mr. Smedley, and the High Constable Mr. Lee, and read the usual precept, and went through the other preparatory forms. When he had finished, Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Kinnaird, with Mr. Hobhouse between them, came upon the stage and stood uncovered. They were received with the loudest shouts from the vast multitude assembled in every direction. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT then addressed the people :—

“ Gentlemen!—In fulfilling the duty which I have undertaken at the request of a large body of the Electors of Westminster, I shall take up but a very few minutes of your time; and shall take the liberty rather to reserve myself, if necessary, till some future occasion, when I may reply to such arguments as are advanced by the proposers of the other gentlemen who are Candidates for your suffrages. It is unnecessary for me to detain you with a detail of those principles which you know me to approve, and which I am satisfied you will support. After the struggle in which Westminster was engaged during the last Election, and after the hazard incurred by the friends of freedom during that monstrous contest, I had hoped, that when a meeting had been convened by the Electors for the purpose of consulting upon the best method of maintaining those principles for which they had so manfully combatted from their first advancement to their complete attainment, I had hoped, I say, that after a full discussion of the course which ought to be pursued, and which, indeed, was adopted, not to have found any departure from the adopted plan, which had for its object the support and furtherance of the great cause of Reform in Parliament—of Reform—I mean of radical Reform—of that which is the only measure of any consequence to the people of England—of that which alone can procure for us the recovery of those privileges, to which, by the Constitution of this country we are entitled, and by which alone the remaining liberties of the land can be at all maintained. (*Great applause.*) The meeting to which I have before alluded was assembled for the purpose of considering who was the most proper person to be nominated as your Representative; and it was at that meeting determined that Mr. Hobhouse was the person to whom the Electors were most generally inclined to give their support. (*Here loud shouts of ‘Hobhouse for ever,’ some few voices crying ‘Cartwright for ever!’*) As that resolution was almost unanimously adopted, and as every measure has since been taken which prudence

could dictate for the purpose of carrying it into effect; as during the intervening interval repeated opportunities have made the Electors of Westminster acquainted with Mr. Hobhouse, it is the intention of Mr. Hobhouse once more to present himself before you: (*Applauses.*) Gentlemen!—I cannot disguise from myself the fact that since the meeting in last November, or rather since within a very few days, some persons have thought proper to adopt a different and an unexpected course. The report of the disagreement amongst the Reformers has already, if I may judge by report, opened a door to the pretensions of a Whig candidate. Now therefore is the time for you to secure that character, and to maintain that commanding position of which by disunion you before were threatened with the loss, and which is again exposed by the same indiscretion. You are now called upon once more to assert that integrity and independence for which you have been so long and so justly distinguished. The conquest in which you are about, so unexpectedly, to engage, will be still more glorious than any preceding struggle, and I trust that you will be crowned with success no less signal than that which rewarded your recent exertions in the same cause. Not being certain what course will be pursued, or what individuals will be nominated, I shall not comment upon what may be, perhaps, only a rumour. I shall content myself with fulfilling that duty which at the request of a large body of Electors I have undertaken, and with putting in nomination the gentleman to whom I have before alluded, and who stands near me—I mean Mr. Hobhouse." (*Shouts of "Hobhouse for ever!"—"Burdett for ever!"*)

MR. DOUGLAS KINNARD seconded this nomination; which he said he was the more induced to do, from his thorough conviction that Mr. Hobhouse was the friend of a radical Reform upon constitutional and intelligible principles. (*Applause.*)

MR. HOBHOUSE stepped forward, and was received with reiterated shouts of "bravo! bravo! Hobhouse for ever," and waving of hats in every quarter of the crowd. He spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen!—I come here to redeem a pledge which I gave to the Electors of Westminster some three months ago. In my address to them after the nomination in November last, I told them that I should be found at the post where I had been placed by their preference. Accordingly I am come to this scene which has so often witnessed the triumph of independence, and which, I trust, will not be disgraced by anything I shall say or do on the present momentous occasion. My late opponent, Sir Murray Maxwell, has also redeemed his pledge, for he told the Electors in his first address that he could *not* come to the hustings. He is *not* here either in person or by proxy. (*Applauses.*) If those who smarted under all the horrors of court solicitation during the last Election;

if the independent Electors at large are at all pleased with his absence and retreat; it is not impossible but that they may associate my name, humble as it is, with the victory already achieved against one of the sons of power and corruption. Should that be the case, I shall feel amply repaid for my exertions, such as they have been, and shall regret no effort devoted to the cause of liberty.

"I am aware that the great share of desert and applause must naturally fall to the share of that very large and respectable body of my fellow citizens who were called upon at the nomination in November to undertake, and who did undertake, to promote that nomination. I am aware that to the exertions of the people at large who have so nobly co-operated with their committees, must in great measure also be attributed the defeat of the court candidate. I know also that it is the great cause which has inspired the people, and not my feeble voice, which has called them to their duty. But these considerations, instead of diminishing my satisfaction, only make me the more proud—proud of my associates—proud of the noble objects we have mutually in view—proud of being thought worthy of being thus taken from the ranks to fight foremost in the glorious struggle for the independence of Westminster. (*Great applause.*) Surely, Gentlemen, I may without arrogance congratulate myself, that I, being one of the people, have been chosen by the people, to do the work of the people. (*Applauses.*)

"The nomination of the 17th of November, in which there were not more than five-and-twenty hands held up in favour of any other individual, left very little doubt of the real inclinations of the Electors, and all I have seen at fifteen or sixteen public meetings in the parishes, has only confirmed the flattering conviction. Not only Sir Murray Maxwell, but other names arrayed for other interests have since faded away one after the other, and have left the popular cause high and alone above the horizon. Little or no doubt was entertained that the great body of the Electors acquiesced in the nomination of last November; but I was nevertheless resolved previously to this day, again to submit myself to the only test which, under the circumstances, was in my power; and accordingly, on Tuesday last I inquired of a very large assembly of the Electors whether their preference still remained fixed upon myself. You know the result. Of 1500 persons assembled, only twelve hands were held up in favour of other claims, and the original nomination was again carried by acclamation. After this decision, it is not, I should hope, with any indecent presumption that I say I come here supported by the good wishes of a majority of the Electors. I trust that it is no presumption, after such repeated tokens of good will and preference, for me to say, that having been so brought hither, here I will remain, and remain to the last. (*Bravo! bravo!*)

I trust that the Electors are convinced that if any disunion arises amongst the friends of Reform, that disunion cannot be fairly charged to me. If it could, I should esteem myself a traitor to the cause which I had pretended to espouse. I should esteem myself an abettor of an unworthy tyrannical attempt to force the opinion of the minority upon the majority. I should esteem myself as one who would sacrifice his friends, his country, and his cause, for the sake of gratifying a silly desire of self-distinction; as one, who, instead of being the promoter, should rather be considered the Marplot of the most noble and patriotic of all undertakings. It seems, however, that another appeal is to be made to the public in behalf of the gentleman who was proposed to the meeting on Tuesday last, and was supported by twelve hands. Well, Gentlemen! there is some consolation in thinking that the contest between me and that gentleman, if there is to be a contest, will be conducted upon the pure principles of election; we may be pretty sure there will be no bribery, no threats, on either part. I trust also there will be no falsehood, no artifice. As an earnest of my own intentions, I will not open by making you a number of promises, the usual flowers of hustings rhetoric. I will not tell you that I will make the shilling loaf sell for sixpence, or that I will force the Speaker to take the Chair at ten o'clock. These I take to be unworthy arts; unworthy of your intelligence, and of the respectability of a Candidate for your suffrages. The Electors of Westminster are not like goods at an auction to be made over to the highest bidder. It will suffice for me to promise that if returned to Parliament I shall think myself bound to promote that which has so long been the object of the Electors of Westminster. I mean a **RADICAL REFORM.**" (*Here Mr. Hunt cried out "Aye, aye; listen now!" and some one said, "What do you mean by Radical Reform?"*) "I thank the Elector who has asked me the question. I always consider that man my friend who gives me the occasion of explaining my opinions. Gentlemen!—I have been questioned, or, to use the right word, tortured, upon the great subject of Parliamentary Reform.* A great deal of representation, or rather of misrepresentation, has been made, as to my opinions on this momentous point. Those who have been busy to injure me, and to injure your cause, have said that I gave a pledge to support annual parliaments and universal suffrage. I have given no such pledge—I

* The writer in the Black Dwarf, and others, were very jocose upon Mr. Hobhouse's introduction of the word *torture*, but Mr. Hobhouse made no other mistake than that of not recollecting that he was addressing some who did not know that *question* and *torture* were originally the same word. This was evidently all Mr. Hobhouse meant, when he alluded to the rude manner in which he had been "put to the question" in the Morning Chronicle.

have been asked for no such pledge. The gentlemen who nominated me proposed me as a man fit to advance the just claims of the people to 'Parliaments of a short duration, and to a *full, free, and equal* share in the choice of their Representatives.' They thought this sufficient, but the information which I have not allowed to be extorted by an enemy, I shall most readily give to a friend; and in order to prevent the mistakes willingly made by your adversaries, I shall read what I have written as descriptive of my opinions on Reform. (*Mr. Hobhouse here read from a paper.*) 'Annual Parliaments and universal suffrage have been mixed together for the sake of confounding the subject; but they are distinct and separate, and upon each of them I claim your separate attention. Upon the latter of the two I think it right to say that I consider the extension of suffrage to be not only of secondary, but even of third rate importance. The first object for the people of England to obtain is equality of right of suffrage; in other words, that there be one and the same qualification, be that what it may, for every Elector in the commonwealth. The second object is, that equality of numbers elect each representative. These objects obtained, then, if I am asked whether security from misgovernment by a real representation may be preserved by an extension of suffrage, short of universal, I answer, *Yes*, by an extension far short of universal. How far short is a question for fair discussion, and honest difference of opinion: in such a discussion the course of my judgment would be towards the largest. I have not hitherto felt any alarm at the notion of a free people being really the choosers of their own representatives, but I should think myself unfit to claim the character of a man of sense, or your support, if I denied that with equality of right of suffrage, and equality of numbers of constituents, there might be various limits not inconsistent with our object. With regard to annual parliaments, I should consider myself the greatest coxcomb that ever pretended to political knowledge, were I to say that twelve months is the precise golden time within which Elections must periodically recur, in order to secure your liberties. Were Elections to take place every 13, 14, 20, or 24 months, the object of keeping the representatives properly identified with their constituents might *perhaps* be sufficiently secured. But it is my opinion that *every Parliament is too long that can be usefully made shorter*. I see no objection to annual parliaments, but I am very willing to admit, that with parliaments of a longer duration, a nation may be both great and free.'

"After this declaration of my principles, Gentlemen, I trust that it is not necessary for me to say more than that I consider a radical Reform in the Representation as the paramount necessity of these times, and that I shall vote for every measure that has the remotest

tendency to promote that desirable end. I must here repeat what I have so often told you, that I am of no party, and that I consider Mr. Horne Tooke told you right when he said twenty years ago that 'every man's honour is safest in his own keeping.' If chosen, I shall consider myself as the Representative of the people, and of the people only, sent to do their business, and their business only; without any other recompense than their favour, and the consciousness of having contributed to the utmost of my power to restore to them the share which they have lost in the management of their own affairs. To you, Gentlemen, I look for support during the present contest, for I have no other friends than you. I shall be assailed on all sides, as I have been assailed on all sides. The court party will never forgive me for having been the instrument in your hands of rescuing your city from their intended subjection. The aristocracy will be equally relentless against one who makes it his boast that he belongs to that class of his Majesty's subjects called the people, and who considers their interference in elections as equally pernicious with the influence of the crown. Had I been silent on this head, I know I might have spared myself the opposition which now threatens me; but out of respect both for my adversaries and for myself, *I should scorn to have secured a single vote by my silence which I shall lose by my sincerity.* I have taken my stand. The people have brought me to this place, and at their bidding only will I retire."

Mr. Hobhouse withdrew, amidst great acclamations, and with Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Kinnaird retired to the back of the stage.

Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Bowie then appeared on the board. Immediately loud shouts of "*Off, off, off. No turncoat. No Bowie*"* were raised up in every quarter. Mr. Nicholson then began speaking, but the shouts of "Hobhouse for ever," and the other noises were so great and incessant, that it was impossible to hear him. Mr. Nicholson's reported speech is as follows:—

"He said that, ten minutes before, he had not entertained the most distant idea of offering himself to their notice, and it was only in consequence of the latter part of the address of Mr. Hobhouse that he did so now. He could say that it was not such an address as the people of Westminster expected to hear, or such as they had a right to expect. Mr. Hobhouse had, indeed, affected to give an explanation of his principles; but he must for one confess he did not understand them; and he would venture to assert they were such as had never before been propounded in any popular assembly. If he understood any thing of them, they were in direct opposition to

* Mr. Bowie had been a member of the General Committee of the Electors appointed to conduct the election of Mr. Hobhouse, an active member of the St. James's Committee, and had taken the Chair at the second parochial meeting of that parish.

those which Westminster had always supported. (*Low cries of No! No! und Down! Down!*) Sir Francis Burdett had brought into Parliament a Bill in favour of universal suffrage, and unless they returned another Representative holding the same principles, they would not do their duty. Sir Francis had also declared at the Crown and Anchor, that Major Cartwright was the fittest person to represent them, (*He never did! False! Off! off!*) though he thought his return unattainable. That, however, was matter of opinion, which was disputable. He trusted that the childish idea that the Major was too old had long been exploded, (*He is too old.*) and therefore he would not waste a moment in discussing that objection; but he insisted it was their duty to elect a man they knew in preference to a young man almost an entire stranger, (*Hobhouse for ever!*) and who had this day made a declaration of principles quite unintelligible. (*Great clamour.*) He would defy any man present to explain what were the principles of Mr. Hobhouse, although they had heard him read his declaration. (*Off! off!*) He believed, however, he so far understood him, as that he might safely assert he was an enemy to universal suffrage. (*Off! off! off!*) Was not this the fact? (*Off! off!*) If he had misstated Mr. Hobhouse's principles, he hoped he would set him right. To annual parliaments he had avowed himself equally adverse. (*Off! off!*) On these two great questions he had certainly avowed himself manfully, and if they now elected him, they only would be to blame. He would give him credit for sincerity; and he would repeat that as he did not hold such sentiments as Westminster holds, or as Sir Francis Burdett holds, it would be the highest absurdity to elect two men of totally opposite principles. (*Here the cries became louder, Off! off! off! No Cartwright! No crazy old fellow! Hobhouse for ever!*) He stood there as an Elector of Westminster, and had a right to deliver his opinion, and he would maintain that right in defiance of clamour; so that the more patience they had, the sooner they would be relieved. (*Laughter, and off! off!*) Were the people of Westminster to have a Reformer for their member or not? He understood that they were to have another candidate proposed, who was said to be a friend of Reform. Sir Francis Burdett had told them that this gentleman was a Whig, and he would no doubt talk of Reform as it was a subject on which they were all agreed. But this was not sufficient. It was necessary they should know distinctly what they meant by Reform. Had Mr. Hobhouse distinctly told them what he meant? (*Yes! yes! off! off!*) He would appeal to the worthy Baronet who introduced him, (in no very flattering manner certainly) whether he had understood his declaration. Mr. Pitt was far more intelligible on the subject of Reform, though he afterwards deserted the cause, as indeed was generally the case; few

men were of the same principles at the beginning, the middle, and the close of their lives. Major Cartwright, however, stood so high in the estimation of the country, that to compare him with any other man would be to degrade him. (*Bravo! hisses, and off! off!*) Firm, uniform, and consistent, he had held on his way in the great work, without deviation or relaxation. He it was that had created that universal feeling of the necessity of Reform which pervaded every county, every town, and almost every family of England. With respect to his bodily capacity to fulfil the duty of their Representative, he could tell them that, advanced in years as he was, he could still walk twenty miles a day, (*Laughter and hisses.*) and he even now was occupied in labouring the whole day, and a great part of the night, for their benefit. His powers were unimpaired, and even if he could not walk, it was their duty to carry him into Parliament on their shoulders; to place him in that house which allowed no merit without its own walls; and let him introduce his Bill on the great and vital question of Reform in the face of it. If that Bill should be found impracticable, or on wrong principles, let it be rejected; but let them be united now and return him, if only for one session, that the question might have a fair trial. It might be want of intelligence which prevented him from comprehending Mr. Hobhouse's declaration, and if he would now come forward, and declare for universal suffrage, he would instantly withdraw Major Cartwright. The Major was at least intelligible, and from him they might have something explicit and tangible. He would conclude with nominating him as a *fit person to represent them in Parliament.*

Mr. BOWEN.—This gentleman was much worse received than Mr. Nicholson; he was scarcely suffered to speak a word without interruption: hisses, groans, and cries of "*No turncoat!*" "*No Judas!*" "*No Bohea!*" He is reported to have said,—

"It was impossible for any one to delineate justly the character of that excellent man, Major Cartwright. He had been before them forty-five years as a public man, and for more than fifty years he had been universally known as an honest, excellent, and upright man. Major Cartwright's great principle was this,—that every man of twenty-one years of age, and unimputable with crime, should be allowed to vote for members of parliament. They also knew clearly his sentiments on annual parliaments; and to those sentiments he had never yet found any reasonable objections. In fine, he was the best friend to the royal family and to the people; he had fought their battles, and had established some known principles as a rallying point to all *real Reformers.*" Mr. Bowie retired amidst loud hisses.

Mr. George Lamb, Mr. James Macdonald, and Mr. Evans of Pall Mall, who had hitherto been standing within the rails of Co-

vent Garden church, now came forward, and ascended the platform: Immediately a considerable outcry was raised in all quarters of "*No Whig!*"—" *No Whig!*"—" *Hobhouse for ever!*" Mr. MACDONALD first presented himself, and was saluted with many signs of popular disapprobation, which he bore with great good humour.

He made some observations on the value of popular elections: he said, "This was no day of triumph and exultation. They had lost in Sir Samuel Romilly, a father and a friend; the constitution had lost a guardian, and the state an ornament.—(*Applauses.*) How much he was the friend of the people, he had proved, by shewing that he scorned to delude them, and that when worn down by public cares and private calamity, he would sooner perish than betray his trust. How greatly he venerated the constitution he had proved, by strenuously opposing every attempt to undermine it; and that he was an ornament to the state was recorded by all Europe. How great and lamentable was the change! Almost in the very hour in which they had hoped to have followed his triumphal car to the scene of his splendid exertions, they beheld his hearse passing to his grave. Was there any British heart who did not at that moment pay tribute to so much departed worth and excellence with the genuine feeling of melancholy regret? The question was a needless one. Sir Samuel Romilly had left them the rich legacy of his own examples and principles; and he would not so wrong them as to suppose, that in three short months all memory of them could have passed away. He knew, indeed, that the virtues of that great man were deeply engraven in their hearts; and would to God! he could that day produce his parallel. He now only wished the Electors to exercise their free and independent judgments; (*No Whig! No Whig! Down with the traitorous Whigs! No apostate Whigs! Macdonald, go back to Calne. No boroughmongers! No Whigs! Macdonald, where's your master, Lord Lansdowne? No Whigs!*) but he would put it to them, whether it would not be more consistent in them to prefer to any other person a man of promising talents and good character, who gave them the best of all possible pledges, that he would do all they would desire, by declaring it to be his resolution to tread undeviatingly in the path of that great man whose loss they all deplored. This is the man," said Mr. Macdonald, at the same time slapping Mr. Lamb on the back: here a great cry from every quarter of "*No Whigs!*"—" *No boroughmongers!*" "*Send Mr. Lamb to a rotten borough.*"—" *A very good man for a rotten borough.*" Mr. Macdonald continued: "In him they would find an intrepid assertor of their rights and liberties, a zealous and judicious reformer of all abuses, and a practiser of that public integrity which he had always admired in his great predecessor. With the feelings that he now proved, recollecting, as he did those

with which he had last appeared on those hustings, he was little disposed to advance any thing that might provoke unnecessary controversy; and he should, therefore, now conclude, by proposing to the Electors, for their choice, his friend, the Honorable GEORGE LAMB, to represent them in parliament."

Mr. Macdonald retired amidst loud outcries of "*No Whig!*" and "*Hobhouse for ever!*" which were much augmented when Mr. EVANS stepped forward: he was hissed and hooted during his whole speech, which the reporters gave as follows:—"After the eloquent and pathetic manner in which Mr. Lamb had been proposed by his honorable friend, he felt that he had but little to say. Every one felt that Westminster, in the death of Sir Samuel Romilly, had sustained a loss which it was impossible to remedy, but which they were now to do their best to diminish. Three candidates had this day been put in nomination, and he candidly confessed, he felt disappointed that a fourth had not been nominated: he meant the gentleman who stood behind him. [Mr. Hunt.] Had that happened, the Electors would not have failed to prove to that worthy person in what estimation his merits were held. Major Cartwright was not there. One of his friends had given him credit for a new qualification for a member of parliament. They had been told the Major could walk twenty miles in a day; (*laughter*) but though he could perform this task, he had not been able to walk to those hustings. He wished the Electors of Westminster to look at the situation in which the country would have been placed if the ideas of that gentleman had been acted upon. They would then see what delusions he had practised upon them, and of what serious importance it would have been to the people of England had he been attended to. They all knew how much the country had suffered from that most grinding tax, the property tax. When a meeting was called in Palace-yard to petition against it. Major Cartwright, instead of concurring with the general voice, held it useless to take the course proposed: 'Stuff and nonsense! pay your taxes, and seek relief in a Radical Reform of the House of Commons.' Had his opinion been acted upon, 51 millions of money would have been drawn from the hard earnings of his countrymen, and they would have been mulcted of their weekly pay-tables to satisfy that old, silly politician.—(*Cries of shame! shame! Off! off! No Whig!*)

"The gentleman who had seconded the nomination of the Major, had asserted, that his Pamphlets remained before the public unanswered; and had seemed to infer that they were unanswerable; but, the truth was, they were so visionary and absurd, that nobody had thought them worth answering. The Major had been called the Father of Reform. They might have called him its grandfather, or great grandfather; he was old enough to merit either appella-

tion; and unfortunately too old to perform those duties which were required of a Representative of the City of Westminster in Parliament. In speaking of the other candidate, he desired to be understood, as not meaning to say any thing against his private character; he would speak of him merely as a public man. They had been told of Mr. Hobhouse's splendid talents. But how, he would ask, had those talents been exercised? He had used them only to detract from the glory of his countrymen. Nothing he solemnly declared would have brought him forward that day, but the French, the revolutionary principles of which he had appeared the advocate. All those he had the honor to address, all Europe had admired the glory won by the battle of Waterloo. All the nations of the continent, even the French themselves admired the conduct of the Duke of Wellington on that great day; and the humanity with which the victors treated the wounded who fell into their hands, had been the subject of general praise; yet for that triumph, Mr. Hobhouse had been able to find no better name than the '*carnage of Mont St. Jean.*'" Mr. Hobhouse here said: "*I never used such an expression.*" Mr. Evans continued: he would hold himself responsible for writings he had committed to the press, unless he disavowed a participation in their sentiments. He declared, that if Mr. Lamb should be returned to Parliament, he would ever be found an advocate for the rights and liberties of the people, and a friend to the freedom of the press.

Mr. Evans retired amidst loud shouts of disapprobation. *No Whigs! No Boroughmongers! No Lamb!*

Mr. LAMB now stepped forward, and was very unfavorably received: the cries of *No Whig* continued through the whole of his speech, which was audible only to those in the immediate vicinity of the Hustings. He said: no man could be more sensible of the importance of those duties which the Electors were now assembled to perform, and none would more highly appreciate the splendid talents, and spotless integrity, of their late Representative. It was remarkable, that he was the first man of eminence on whom, when the writ was moved for electing a member to supply his place on his decease, no eulogium had been pronounced in Parliament. The practice having become common, it was thought expedient to omit the usual introduction to such a motion. Another reason might be suggested for omitting it in this case; it was this, his eulogium had already and recently been pronounced by the Electors of Westminster in a manner which could not be controverted or misunderstood: though at the time they had little thought how well their praises of him would serve for his funeral oration. In suffering himself to be proposed to them on this occasion, if any comparison were to be drawn between him and the late member, it would have required

stronger nerves than he possessed, and a hundred times his talents to appear before them. But, as that great man was gone for ever, such comparisons could only protract vain repinings, and useless regrets. He desired to be compared not to those who were gone, but to those who now presented themselves to claim the support and countenance of the Electors of Westminster. His opinions he could prove had ever been friendly to liberty, which he had formed to the extent of his limited means; and his claims he therefore thought were equal to those of Mr. Hobhouse. It was said that such a proceeding was improper, because Mr. Hobhouse had been put in nomination three months ago, at a meeting in a room, which was not capable of containing one third of the Electors of Westminster; but which nevertheless took upon itself to designate the course which ought to be pursued, in order to fill up the vacancy. He had hung back to the very last moment, in the hopes that some individual would have presented himself, whose merits were more nearly equal than his own, to those of the distinguished man, whose loss they had to supply. Had such a person appeared, he would much rather have solicited their suffrages in his behalf, than in his own. This was the cause of his coming forward so late, and the difference between the Honorable Baronet and himself, was this; that the Honorable Baronet and Mr. Hobhouse thought that the Election ought to have been decided three months ago: whereas, he thought that it ought to be decided by the Electors, in the place where he was addressing them. It was also objected to him, that he was a Whig candidate; he gloried in the name of Whig. Mr. Fox and Sir Samuel Romilly had been Whigs, and he hoped that he should deserve the title which had been borne by them, and which was now to be conferred upon him. The Honorable Baronet had said, that his being put in nomination, would produce a court candidate. He thanked him for this observation, as it in effect said, that at any rate he was no court candidate—that he was as independent of the present corrupt government as the Honorable Baronet could be. But, because he was a Whig, it was said, he must be hostile to Reform. He denied the consequence—Reform, or, to use the words of Mr. Hobhouse, intelligible Reform, had ever found its best friends amongst the Whigs. The essay or dissertation on Reform, read by Mr. Hobhouse, appeared to him a good deal like the productions which fell from time to time from the pen of the other candidate, Major Cartwright. That there were abuses in the Representation of the People was beyond all doubt. He, however, had not written his sentiments upon paper, as Mr. Hobhouse had done; but, he would refer them to what was written on their minds; he would refer them to the declaration made by Sir Samuel Romilly from the Hustings, and would say, that he was a friend to the more equal

Representation of the people, and to the shorter duration of Parliaments. He had not yet been placed in that happy situation in which to be able to refer to his past life (having never been in Parliament) as a test by which they might form a judgment of his future conduct. Mr. Hobhouse had spoken contemptuously of extravagant professions. But when he spoke of those who would promise that the shilling loaf should be sold for sixpence, he paid the Electors of Westminster an ill compliment, in supposing that they could for a moment listen to any proposition half so ridiculous. He believed, Mr. Hobhouse did not perceive at the time what an unfortunate allusion he had made. No Reformer that he knew of, had ever used language at all like this, but Jack Cade, who had promised, that the pint of ale should in future be a quart.

When Mr. Lamb had finished speaking, he and his friends retired. The High Bailiff now came forward, and put Mr. Hobhouse in nomination. In an instant the whole Market resounded with shouts of *Hobhouse for ever!* and the hats and hands which were held up in every direction, showed that in proportion to the vast multitude assembled, the opinion in his favor might be said to be nearly unanimous. The High Bailiff then nominated Major Cartwright—there appeared for him between thirty and forty hands. The question was then put respecting Mr. Lamb. At first it appeared that not a single hand was held up, but on looking back, towards the church, a few hands. Some said *seven*, some *twelve*, were seen. A burst of laughter and hisses, and cries of *No WHIGS! No APOSTATES!* resounded on every side. The High Bailiff declared, that the choice of the Electors had fallen on Mr. Hobhouse, *who now again* came forward and said: "Gentlemen,—I thank you for this fresh instance of your confidence in me. The choice you were before so good as to make, has been now triumphantly confirmed. I may say, indeed, that it has been confirmed almost unanimously. After returning you my thanks, I have only to add, that as it appears I shall have the honor of being what is called the popular candidate in this Election, you will accept the advice I presume to offer to you, and take care that every one shall be favored with a fair and impartial hearing on the hustings; as well as that no occurrence, which can possibly disgrace your great cause, the cause of Reform, shall by the utmost malice of your enemies, be attributable to you."

Mr. Hobhouse retired amidst great applause, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Kinnaird, and a large body of Electors. Mr. Evans demanded a poll for Mr. Lamb—Mr. Nicholson demanded a poll for Major Cartwright. When the greater part of the crowd had dispersed, Mr. Hunt made a speech—in which he said, that he should support Major Cartwright, whose principles were Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Election by Ballot; and

that he should attend on the hustings for fifteen days, to complete the work which he had commenced at the late Election, namely, the unmasking of that hypocrite Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Gale Jones also spoke, and the meeting then gradually broke up.

The High Bailiff adjourned the polling until the following Monday.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15.—FIRST DAY.

The placards in the various quarters of Westminster were not very numerous. Mr. Lamb's Committee, which sat in Henrietta Street, issued the following.—“VOTE FOR LAMB ON ROMILLY'S PRINCIPLES.”—“LAMB, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.” The Committee of the Reformers sat in King Street, at Fisher's Rooms. Their placard was—“VOTE FOR HOBHOUSE AND RADICAL REFORM;” and a bill similar to the following was issued from each of the Parochial Committee Rooms.

“REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

“Parish of St. George.

“The Electors of this Parish are earnestly requested to attend at the Hustings, on Monday Morning, at the Opening of the Poll, to vote for Mr. Hobhouse. The Electors have now an opportunity to shew their strength and determination to obtain a *Real Reform*, and by an early Poll, and an overwhelming Majority, speedily to extinguish all hope in their Opponents, the Advocates of *Mock Reform*!

*“Committee Room, King's Arms, Duke Street,
Grosvenor Square, Saturday, Feb. 13, 1819.”*

Major Cartwright's friends issued several posting-bills: amongst others was one stating that Sir F. Burdett had promised that if the Major were proposed, he would vote for the Major. The Committee at Fisher's Rooms issued a handbill, stating this to be FALSE.

The polling was not very active, but the crowd before the hustings was excessive. The High Bailiff's box was visited by many members of the House of Commons. Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Manning, General Thornton, Mr. Birch, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Fazakerly. Some of these gentlemen having votes, polled for Mr. Lamb. A little before the closing of the poll, the candidates made their appearance at the hustings. Mr. Hobhouse was accompanied by two or three Electors of the Committee. Mr. Lamb was supported by Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Lambton, Lord John Russell, Lord William

Russell, and several other Whig gentlemen. Further down on the same side appeared on behalf of Major Cartwright—Mr. Henry Hunt, Mr. Gale Jones, Sir Charles Welsely, of Staffordshire, and Mr. Northmore, of Exeter. The numbers exhibited were,

Hobhouse . . . 247

Cartwright . . . 21

Lamb . . . 171

Mr. Hobhouse then stepped forward; he was received with the loudest acclamations;—he spoke as follows:

Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for this convincing proof of your confidence in me. The cause of Reform is this day in a majority, which, for the first day, is considerable, and which, I trust, will be eclipsed by the success of to-morrow; for I have the pleasure to announce that the large and populous parish of St. James's will to-morrow send her Electors to the poll, headed by your worthy representative, Sir F. Burdett. (*Loud cheers.*) I listened with much attention to the speeches of the three Whig gentlemen, on Saturday last; and as far as the repeated cries of No Whig! No Whig! would allow me, I think I caught the material part of their addresses. I have to observe that the honorable proposer of the candidate spoke much, if indeed not altogether of the virtues of Sir Samuel Romilly, and I see that the placards issued this day by his Committee, recommend the Electors to "vote for Lamb on Romilly's principles." Now, I am well aware that the name of Sir Samuel Romilly should never be mentioned but with respect, and I have been bred in a school which has taught me to pay due deference to those who have been honoured by the esteem of their fellow-countrymen: but I may nevertheless observe, that it would have been more to the purpose, if the proposer, had spoken less of Sir Samuel Romilly, and more of Mr. Lamb, who certainly may be said to want some little introduction to the Electors of Westminster. It appears to me, that the coupling of the candidate's name with that of the late member is an artifice, and a paltry artifice, peculiarly indicative of the party to which the gentleman belongs; for this party delights in names for the sake of names. At first we heard of the house of Russell as likely to supply a candidate; here was a name. Then was to come one of the family of Whitbread; here was another name: and now that the name of Lamb is not very enticing, we are to have the name of Romilly. I trust that the Electors will understand and despise the bait. I now come, Gentlemen, to the speech of the seconder, very different indeed from that of the proposer of the honorable candidate. The first part of that gentleman's speech was, I believe, an attack upon Major Cartwright, added to some allusions to his age, which I think might have been spared. (*Applauses.*) The second part of the gentleman's speech was devoted

to me; and if I heard him right, he did me the honour to call me a revolutionist. (*He did, he did.*) The head and front of my offending in this particular seems to be, that in the year 1815 I wrote a book, to prove that it was not either the duty or business of England to force a despised and rejected sovereign on the people of France. (*Loud cheers; and cries of "we like you the better for it."*) Now, as to my being a revolutionist, let me remark, that it is very unseemly for the seconder of a *Whig* candidate to charge any body with an attachment to revolution; for you well know that the *Whigs* are always boasting of revolution, and have indeed no other rag than the Revolution of 1688 to cover their nakedness. (*Loud applauses and laughter.*) They are always talking of their deeds in days past, and instead of calling the attention of the people to what they are about to do, they only refer to what was once done. The second charge made against me by the seconder, of supporting French principles, if it was made at all, should not, at least, have been ushered in by a direct misrepresentation. He said I called the Battle of Waterloo the "carnage of Mont St. Jean;" suppose I had; what then? it was a simple fact. But I did not call the Battle of Waterloo "the carnage of Mont St. Jean;" the expression was used by another person. It is true it has been attributed to me: and where, Gentlemen, do you think that this *Whig* has been making his researches, and what authority do you think he gallantly relies on? *The Quarterly Review*! Perhaps there may be some amongst you, who do not know that the *Quarterly Review* is a compilation of essays, published every three months, to tell lies for the court. (*Huzzas, and shame, Evans!*) And to this precious repository the *Whig* seconder resorts, and then helps about the lame scandal of a ministerial slanderer. (*Shame, Evans! and loud hisses at Mr. Evans.*) I do not scruple indeed, to say here as I said in print, that I think British valour was never more unfortunately employed, and British blood never more prodigally and perniciously spilt than at the Battle of Waterloo. (*True! true!*) You will also, Gentlemen, be pleased to remark the incongruity with which such a charge, even if it were well founded, comes from a *Whig*. Did not a large body of the *Whigs* vote against that war which was terminated by the Battle of Waterloo? They did: and Lord Grey, their leader, made one of the noblest and ablest speeches ever heard in Parliament against that war, which he considered, as I presumed to consider it, a war against the most sacred of popular rights, the free choice of their government. (*Loud applauses, and cries of Well done!*) When then the seconder of the candidate came forward to eulogize that war, and to censure me for a presumed regret at the manner in which it was terminated, you could, I dare say, easily discern what sort of a *Whig* you would have to contend with: you would discern

your candidate not to be a Revolution Whig, not a Whig of 1797, who resisted the war against human freedom, under the popular banner of Charles James Fox, but a mere modern Whig, of no fixed principles, or defined opinions. (*Great applauses.*) It is now time that I should come to you, Mr. Lamb: it seems you glory in being a Whig. It is difficult to say in what some persons will not glory. Your favourite, Shakspeare, whom you quoted on Saturday, to shew us how familiar you were with the character of Jack Cade, has mentioned another character which you also seem to have studied. You glory in being a Whig,—in the same way, Audrey being called a *slut*, said she thanked God for her *sluttishness*. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, you will perceive that when Mr. Lamb tells you he is a Whig, he tells you nothing. You will recollect that some Whigs voted for the Suspension Bill: some Whigs, and, if I mistake not, a gentleman of the name of Lamb amongst them, voted for that more disgraceful measure, the Indemnity Bill: others there were who were strenuous in their opposition to both those tyrannical acts; and, generally speaking, no one will deny that some of the best men of the country are to be found amongst the Whigs. Even in this contest, it is satisfactory to find, that all of them are not ranged against the popular cause. When that party come to settle accounts with the people, a remnant shall be saved. (*Laughter and applauses.*) These Whigs will be recollected in the day of difficulty, but as to those who now appear arrayed against you, and still call themselves the friends of the people, I must again quote Mr. Lamb's Shakspeare, and say, "an you call this backing your friends; a plague on such backing say I." The first proof given by these friends of the people how well they like you, is a singular one enough. They come forward by surprize, and try to defeat a candidate, whom you have honoured by your undoubted preference during three months, and who, by your assistance, has succeeded in driving the ministerial candidate from the field. Gentlemen, the Whig candidate on Saturday objected to my being nominated in a private room. Private as it was, it contained fifteen hundred persons; but observe from whom this charge of privacy comes, it comes from a gentleman who has been nominated, no one knows where or by whom, by a cabal in a corner, and by certain persons represented by the solitary signature of *James Macdonald, Chairman*. These Whigs, who do not like that my nomination should have been artfully concealed and huddled up at the Great Room, at the Crown and Anchor, before any and every man in London who chose to attend, what do they do? Why they decide that the voice of the whole body of the Electors of Westminster is to be found nowhere but in a house in St. James's Square. (*Bravo! bravo!*) From that house they appeal against my nomination; and they put the question

to the people on Saturday at this place, as being the place, where, as the candidate said, the question should be put. The result you saw. The Whigs had seven hands for them. Before, they complained of the Crown and Anchor being too private, and containing too few of the people: now, perhaps, they will complain of Covent Garden being *too public*, and letting in *too many* of the people. Say what they will I shall understand them, and you will understand them. Gentlemen, I see that the excuse for opposing me is, that James Macdonald, Chairman, does not like my principles,—so, at least, I see by the requisition inviting Mr. Lamb. The Whigs, perhaps, might have found out this dislike before; but that is their own affair: all I have to say is, that I believe the principle of mine to which they object is, that I am not a party man. To this I plead guilty; and profess that I abhor those combinations, which, in my judgment, have, more than any other cause, contributed to the ruin of this country. (*Great applause.*) Another objection made to me in the Whig journal is, that I have been nominated by Sir Francis Burdett; who, so says the Whig, now appears in a new character. But by this gentle writer's leave, he does not know even contemporary occurrences. It is no *new* character for Sir F. Burdett, for Sir Francis before proposed Lord Cochrane—and as no objection was *then* made, there seems no reason that there should be any objection *now* made to the expression of his sentiments in concurrence with a large body of his constituents, as to whom he should wish to have for his colleague. See also, Gentlemen, from whom this objection comes—the Whigs think it perfectly right that one of their great lords, who has never done any thing for the nation, or perhaps has plundered it, should absolutely *make* eight or nine members of Parliament; but they think it perfectly monstrous, that your representative, who has certainly done and suffered something in the public cause, should reap from the services of twenty years even the privilege of saying that he approves of one candidate more than another, and would be pleased to have him for his associate. (*Loud cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I congratulated you the other day on the retreat of the Ministerial Candidate, effected by our mutual endeavours; but I was not at that time aware that another individual might, under another name, step forward to support the same cause. It seems that what we thought we had lost with Sir M. Maxwell, we have partially, at least, gained in Mr. Lamb. I hold in my hand *The Courier* of Saturday, which has given a sufficient cue to the friends of the Court, and says that "*it wishes success to Mr. Lamb.*" The same advertisement to the ministerialists is also given in *The Morning Post* of this day, and I am honoured with the familiar title of a Jacobin. This intelligence has not surprised me, for im-

mediately that an opposition was announced, it came to my knowledge that those who were most active for Sir Murray Maxwell at the last Election, were instantly put in motion for Mr. Lamb. I hope, Gentlemen, that you now perfectly understand what sort of a candidate you have in the person of Mr. Lamb.—There he stands, the nominee of James Macdonald, Chairman—the adopted child of *The Courier*, and the representative of the wishes of the whole body of the Aristocracy, who have long eyed your ascendancy in Westminster with jealousy and with fear. As long as he is distinctly seen, I have no objection to any epithet which may be bestowed upon me. If the word *Jacobin* be agreeable to my opponents, they are welcome to all the benefit they can derive from baptising me; but it is only upon condition that it is not forgotten that Mr. Lamb is the declared COALITION CANDIDATE.

Mr. Hobhouse retired amidst loud and continued cheering from the whole body of the people, which stretched in a close-wedged throng, from the piazzas across the market to the outlet of Henrietta-street.

Lord William Russell and Mr. Hunt now came forward; and each tried to gain a hearing, but in vain—at last Mr. Hunt was heard to exhort the people to silence, and to say that he willingly withdrew his claims in favor of Lord W. Russell. His Lordship stood for some time on the outward bar, waving his hand and seeming to speak; but the cries of *Off, off*, the *hisses* and *groans* were so loud and incessant, that not a single word could be distinguished even by the Reporters. His Lordship persisted till he was very red in the face, bowing, and screaming, and waving the air with his hand—but was driven back by the hisses. Mr. Lamb then came forward—the people hissed, but those placed within the rail and in the hustings about Mr. Lamb, cheered him. His speech, as given in the Chronicle, follows.

Mr. LAMB said, that his Honorable Opponent, after three months of a regular canvas, after exertions unremitting, and declarations, that victory was decisive, that day came forward to console himself with a numerical majority of seventy-six votes over him, who had scarcely been nominated. Certainly Mr. Hobhouse had his majority on that day; but he begged to assure him, that no inducement could urge him to change places on the poll. Convinced as he was, that the Electors of Westminster must see that the disappointment was with Mr. Hobhouse, while under such circumstances the real triumph of the day was with him. The Honorable Gentleman would, before a few days, be satisfied that he who started quickest in the race was most liable to be soonest put out of breath; (*Applauses.*) and yet one should have expected from that quarter better bottom. (*A laugh.*) Mr. Hobhouse had been long in a

course of training; he had prosecuted his regular walks to strengthen his wind; he had been dieted on true electioneering regimen; from him, therefore, something more decisive than the day's result was rationally to be expected. Let him, however, not deceive himself. In the first round, it was true, that his opponent had gained a little advantage. Still he might rely on his (Mr. Lamb's) *coming to time*, (*Bravo!*) and before the contest Mr. Hobhouse would most probably find him a greater *glutton* than he expected. Before he proceeded to advert to the speech they had just heard, he must beg to remind Mr. Hobhouse, that when he ventured to describe those, at whose invitation he (Mr. Lamb) offered himself to the notice of the Electors of Westminster, he ought to have provided himself with something in the shape of proof to justify such an observation. My lot (said Mr. Lamb) this day is, comparatively with that of Mr. Hobhouse, rather a hard one. He has made a long speech in reply to a short one of mine on Saturday, while I, without the benefit of the two nights and two days deliberation, of which he has had the advantage, have to apply my comments directly to his! (*Hear, hear!*) I mention this, in order, that if I shall impute any thing to him without justice, it will be attributed to inadvertence or misconception. That Gentleman has asked what the Electors of Westminster knew of Mr. Lamb. Mr. Lamb had on Saturday saved Mr. Hobhouse the necessity of putting the question, because on that day I myself declared before you, that I was an untried public man—that I had nothing to offer but those professions of public integrity which an untried man could only give; professions, however, which Mr. Hobhouse, so long tried in the public service, had thought proper to disparage. But may I not in my turn, and after this admission particularly, be allowed to say to the Electors of Westminster, that Mr. Hobhouse has no name—that he could not stand alone—and that if my pretensions have been admitted by my friends on the ground of my attachment to the principles of Sir Samuel Romilly, his alone can be recognized because he happens to be the friend of Sir Francis Burdett. Between him and me there is unhappily this distinction, that while I am, alas, deprived of the present support of that regretted patriot, whose principles I have ever approved, and whose memory I shall ever cherish, Mr. Hobhouse has the advantage of the presence of his prototype, who, not content with all the marks of favour the Electors of Westminster have lavished upon himself, endeavours now to make them a due return, by forcing his *protégé* upon their acceptance. I must then be allowed to repeat, that if Mr. Hobhouse felt his proper share of modesty, he would have at least hesitated in his inquiry after the public services of Mr. Lamb. But the laboured pith of his whole speech was to guard against misrepresentations of his principles. For the last three months, surely,

he had the fullest opportunity to have placed these principles beyond misconception. He still feels it necessary to enter into further explanation; if he had not during the long interval done so, then, I ask, what has he been doing during his canvas? It is, indeed, extraordinary, that he himself should feel that further explanation was necessary; and, what was more surprising, that the Electors of Westminster should, as he advanced, find him more and more unintelligible. Mr. Hobhouse was loud in taking credit for not being what he was pleased to call a party man. If by such a term was understood a blind adherence to any public leader, or any inclination to sacrifice to the interests of such a connexion one jot of the rights of the people, with equal confidence I beg to assert that I never will be a party man. But while I say this, I am not vain enough to think that any isolated efforts of mine could effect for the public what their interests might demand. Such feats are reserved for my Honorable Opponent, who, if he should get into the House, (and for the City of Westminster I think he never will) would probably, if he found a seconder to his propositions, have Ministers themselves to act as tellers, and make a return of — to their divisions. But Mr. Hobhouse, with his peculiar penetration, has this day made a new discovery. He now declares that I am a Court Candidate. It was only on Saturday last, Sir Francis Burdett, his proposer, styled me a Whig Candidate, and observed, that my nomination would most probably on this day produce the appearance of a Court Candidate. I am contented with the designation of Saturday, of being a Whig Candidate. I must protest, however, upon being new christened as often as it suits the teeming fancy of Mr. Hobhouse. (*Hear, hear! and applauses.*) My principles I openly, undisguisedly stated to you on Saturday; it is not necessary for me therefore, as it is for Mr. Hobhouse, to enter again into an explanation of them. Should you honour me with your confidence, you shall ever find me opposed to the principles of the Court, whenever those principles impugn the rights of the people. (*Bravo! bravo!*) Before, however, I conclude, I beg to state, that on Saturday, when some insinuations were made as to the political conduct of some connexions of my opponent, it was justly observed from the body of the people, that family reflections were unfair. One should have thought Mr. Hobhouse, of all others, would have felt the propriety of acting upon such a feeling. I shall not follow his example, but content myself with saying, that the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—the subsequent Indemnity to Ministers—ever had my most decided reprobation.—(*Hear! hear! and applauses.*) Again, I repeat, that I am anxious for a more equal Representation of the People—for a shorter duration of Parliaments—and for Economy in every department of the State. I glory in being considered as

included in that body of Whigs, without whose co-operation no popular benefit ever was obtained—but I again protest against being installed by my opponents in the conjoint capacity of being, at the same time, a Whig and a Court Candidate.

Mr. Lamb retired. The people, in general groaned and hissed, and bleated—indeed the latter part of his speech was scarcely audible—and the applauses marked in the report of the Chronicle, came from the above mentioned bye-standers. After Mr. Lamb's speech, Mr. Hobhouse retired, accompanied by his friends. At this moment Mr. Evans came forward with a pamphlet in his hand, and several voices cried out, "Mr. Hobhouse! Mr. Hobhouse!" but that gentleman was gone, and Mr. Evans could not obtain a hearing—he was driven back by hisses and cries of "*Off! off!*"

Mr. Hunt then came upon the bar—his reception by the people was far from encouraging; but the knot immediately under and about the Whig end of the hustings was more partial to him; and the Chronicle published his speech the next morning, with the comments which are here inserted, not because they came from the people, which they did not, but because they spoke the sentiments of the Whigs, and may therefore serve as a record of them.

Mr. HUNT, in commencing his address, said he should occupy only a very few minutes of their time. Though the friends of the other two Candidates had that day succeeded in gaining considerably in point of numbers, he had no doubt that the friends of the venerable Major would come forward to-morrow, and rally round his independent principles. (*Go it, Hunt, my boy!*) They had heard both the Candidates to-day, and he earnestly implored them to do the same every day, as it was only by so doing they could come to an honest, impartial conclusion as to the merits of each. (*Applause.*) By hearing all, then they would judge who should be preferred; and he pledged himself that if the friends of the Major could not answer their opponents, they would at once relinquish the contest. Mr. Lamb had openly and manfully declared himself a Whig, and the friend of moderate Reform. What the nature of that Reform was, it was unnecessary for him to state, as they already knew enough of it; but it was only an act of justice to say, that while Mr. Lamb had manfully avowed his principles, his opponent had told them not what he meant by reform, but what he meant not. (*Loud applause.*) Mr. Hobhouse in the course of his speech, had attacked the family and relatives of Mr. Lamb, which the latter had very properly retorted. He had no doubt they would find the Lamb to be as good in every point of view, and he had the firmest belief they would find it better in the end than the mutton. (*Laughter and applause.*) He objected most decidedly to Mr. Hobhouse, as he considered

him the nominee of Sir Francis Burdett, and brought forward under his wing. Detesting such conduct from the bottom of his soul, he would ever raise his hand and his voice against it, and use every possible exertion to prevent Westminster from becoming a rotten borough. He considered the Whigs were not in earnest, and had no determined intention to do any thing for the people; but he fondly trusted they would take a lesson from the proceedings of that day, and he had no doubt, if they joined the ranks of the people, they would be received with open arms. (*Loud applause.*) Which then of the two Candidates were they disposed to support? Would they give their votes to one, who on Saturday from these Hustings had declared himself the enemy of Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by the Ballot? To one who had from these Hustings avowed no fixed principles, and given them no *data* to judge by? Was such a man fit to be their Representative? (*Loud cries of "No, no!"*) The venerable Major, whom he was proud to call his friend, had given them a fair promise of what he would attempt in that House if he was returned to it by their suffrages. He had no doubt they would reward the faithful services and long continued exertions of that individual by electing him. Having said thus much, he would for the present desist, as he would have an opportunity of addressing them on other occasions. He had now to introduce to them a most respectable individual—a Country Gentleman, who was attached to the principles and constitutional views of the venerable Major. When he mentioned the name of Sir Charles Wolseley, he was sure they would be highly gratified to find him present. It would shew their antagonists that the friends of the Major were not that low despicable set, that swinish multitude which they had been called. He concluded by expressing his decided opinion, that they would shew their decided opinion, by the state of the poll, of what genuine Reform was, and that they would exert themselves to the utmost to prevent their great and independent City from becoming a close rotten borough, as it inevitably would become in the hands of the Rump. (*Loud and loud applauses.*)

After Mr. Hunt had concluded amidst hisses and applauses, three gentlemen presented themselves at once. Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Thelwall, and Mr. Evans. The latter gentleman withstood for two or three minutes a storm of howls and hisses, accompanied by a few muddy favours, which persuaded him that he had better take his last leave of that stage. His unfortunate statement about the carnage of Mont St. Jean at the outset, had given the people an unfavourable conception of him. Mr. Thelwall and Sir C. Wolseley remained, and not being able to procure the whole audience, divided

them, and spoke both at once. The reporters were nearest to Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, and *The Times* of the next morning gave his speech as follows:—

“ He declared, that if he might make use of an old Westminster expression, five minutes ago he had been in a funk, but knowing that his heart was in the right place, and that there were none but the friends of liberty about him, he had recovered his spirits and was no longer afraid. He must say that Mr. Hobhouse was a political humbug; (*Bravo! bravo!*) and that, in his opinion, Sir Francis Burdett was another.—(*Bravo!*) He would shew them, that Sir Francis Burdett was one thing one day, and another thing another.—(*Applause.*) He would remind them, that on Saturday Sir Francis Burdett had said, that neither he nor Mr. Hobhouse were supporters of annual parliaments, universal suffrage, or election by ballot; and yet Sir Francis Burdett had on June 2, 1818, introduced a set of resolutions into parliament in favour of each of these points. The conduct of Burdett and Hobhouse and his rump was so disgraceful, that he was quite ashamed of it.—(*Great applause.*) He also alluded to Mr. Hobhouse’s expression of his having been tortured by questions regarding the statement of his sentiments. He said he did not wonder at the expression, it must, indeed, have been torture to have so often to repeat a story which he did not believe.—(*Partial hissing.*) He would relate to them an anecdote which had occurred in the course of the day:—A Mr. Wilson, a boot-maker, in Little Windmill-street, had, on giving his vote that day, explained the reasons why he had not given his suffrage to Mr. Hobhouse, to whom he had promised it. He had told Mr. Hobhouse’s poll-clerk, ‘ I don’t come here for Sir Francis Burdett’s man, because the man who forgets an old friend does not deserve trust. I dislike a snake in the grass, and such I consider Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett to be. I gave a plumper for Sir Francis Burdett at the last election, and I am very sorry for it.’ Mr. Wilson had said very properly, that Mr. Hobhouse was a snake in the grass; and he (Sir Charles Wolseley) should, therefore, recommend the Electors, if they did not support Major Cartwright, to vote for Mr. Lamb in preference to Mr. Hobhouse. The one, if he was an enemy, was an open and avowed enemy; the other, if he was a friend, was a treacherous and insidious friend.”

The reader should imagine to himself, that during this speech there was another oration going on at the other end of the hustings, and a tremendous uproar prevailing throughout the whole crowd. This uproar was not at all diminished when Mr. WOOLER came forward; but that gentleman, amidst hissing and howling, contrived to get through a speech, of which *The Morning Chronicle* gave the following report:—

" He was glad to see such an assembled congregation of Englishmen, who shewed that they now saw it was their interest that no deception should any longer take place. The present was one of the small intervals of liberty afforded the people in this dark and dismal state of political slavery, and it became them, therefore, not to waste the few moments, but to employ them to the best advantage. It was the duty of every man who addressed them, to tell them the truth, and he was not an Englishman who could hesitate for a moment to hear and speak the truth. On the present occasion they had three candidates before them, of whose respective qualifications they were to judge, and he trusted they would exercise their judgment with strictness and impartiality. He hoped they would now shew they were no longer to be trifled with, that they knew their rights, and would persevere in obtaining and defending these to the end of life. The day was now passed when the people of England had been amused by professions which there was not the slightest intention of realizing. A different spirit actuated Englishmen, and that bolt, which had been so long kept back, would, when it burst, come with ten-fold fury. One of the candidates, they were aware, was a Whig, and of course attached to Moderate Reform. Long had that body been seeking for Moderate Reform, many had been their efforts, but from their want of success one was almost inclined to believe Moderate Reform was as difficult to be found as the philosopher's stone. Such Reform would not do for the People, as they were determined to have their full rights, and to have nothing short of Radical Reform.—(*Applause.*) Many of the Whigs were very good men no doubt, and for the best of all reasons, because they were either in good situations or in the expectation of them. Westminster had shewn she was above such petty distinctions as would mark *slave* on the forehead of one, and stamp *man* on the other.—(*Loud applause.*) Every man had a right, which God had given him when he stamped *man* on his forehead, and accursed be he who could dare to brand *slave* on a human being.—(*Applause.*) He expected, that when a candidate came forward to claim their suffrages, he would have distinctly and honestly declared his principles; but had this been done by the other candidate (Mr. Hobhouse), in the address he had delivered to-day and Saturday? When a candidate would not tell his principles, how could persons who had the elective franchise judge of his qualifications? A Representative, like an executor, had a sacred trust reposed in him, and that trust he was bound by the most solemn ties to discharge faithfully.—(*Loud applause.*) The utmost astonishment was excited in his mind, that Mr. Hobhouse could consider himself a Radical Reformer, and yet state such a creed as he had done on Saturday—a creed, he had no difficulty in saying, totally void of any intelligible

meaning. Let them read that creed, and see how it was possible for any man to utter it, and yet claim the character of a friend to Radical Reform. What was implied in the expression of Radical Reform? It obviously meant the eradicating the abuses which had crept in, those weeds which polluted the constitution, and the destruction of that mass of corruption which had so long prevailed. There was not a wish to overturn the tree itself, or in any respect to injure it, but as good gardeners, it was their duty to dig round its roots and loosen the earth. He defied any man to say what that individual meant when he spoke of the extension of the suffrage. Was he a proper person to draw the distinction between who should enjoy the elective franchise and who should not? Was he to say who was worthy of the name of man, and who was to be branded with the odious epithet of slave? If he was, unquestionably his powers were more than human, and his genius more enlightened and brilliant than the rest of the creation. Speaking, however, in that very memorable creed which he read on Saturday, he had said that the largest extension of the suffrage would, in his opinion, be the better way. Now, was there ever any thing more absurd; and in the name of common sense he would ask, was there ever a doctrine (if doctrine it may be called) more unintelligible?—(*Loud applause.*) Mr. Hobhouse had strong objections to Annual Parliaments, but he could see none to elections taking place every thirteen, fourteen, twenty, or twenty-four months. This was another specimen of his intelligible opinions; but if Parliaments were very good which continued for two years, why did he and the friends of Triennial Elections not split the difference, and at once agree to have them continue only two years and six months? Surely if they had one bad member, twelve months was long enough to allow him to play the rogue. He was confident the Electors of Westminster would not support those who had plundered the armoury of Major Cartwright, and fought with his own weapons against himself. It was ridiculous to talk of the age and incompetency of that venerable patriot. When a long life had been stamped throughout with upright principles, inflexible integrity, and pure love to the Constitution, the person had a double claim to support, and his principles to be supported and cherished. As it was now too late for him to go on further, he would take a future opportunity of addressing them on other points of equal importance, to which it was impossible for him even to allude at present. His voice would always be raised in the cause of freedom and the people, notwithstanding all the opposition he might meet with, and they might rest assured that no effort on his part should be wanting to shew them that—

—“No proud nor noble knave,
Can walk with credit to the grave.”

At the close of this speech Mr. HUNT begged a five minutes audience for Mr. Gale Jones, which, however, he was unable to obtain, the people probably considering that having already seen four orators rise against Mr. Hobhouse's single speech, it was fair play to desist for the present from any further attack. Mr. Hunt then promised that Mr. Gale Jones should be in attendance to-morrow. The meeting broke up about six o'clock.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16.—SECOND DAY.

At the close of the first day's poll, the committee conducting the election of Mr. Hobhouse, issued the following handbill and advertisement:—

" REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

" Electors of Westminster.—To oppose you the Factions have once more coalesced; they have thrown off the mask of pretended hostility to each other, and both Whigs and Tories are now united to prevent the exercise of your free choice. Remember that all History has proved that the coalition of factions has been destructive of the Liberties of the People. Continue your exertions, your victory is certain—the Faction will be annihilated. Come early to the Poll To-morrow—vote for the man you have chosen—vote for HOBHOUSE, the Friend of Universal Liberty and RADICAL Reform of Parliament.

" FIRST DAY'S POLL.

" Hobhouse	247
" Cartwright	21
" Lamb	171

" Subscriptions to defray the Expences of the Election are received at the Committee Room, King-street, Covent-garden; and by Mr. Samuel Brooks, Treasurer, 110, Strand."

" Reform of Parliament.

" PURITY OF ELECTION.

" HOBHOUSE.

" Electors of Westminster,

" Your WHIG Enemy, who seeks a Seat to destroy YOUR LIBERTIES, may send you Letters of Thanks for your Votes; but

you will not expect thanks from a COMMITTEE of YOURSELVES, acting for YOU, and by YOUR MEANS ONLY to PRESERVE YOUR LIBERTIES.

"Canvass among *Yourselves*—for *Yourselves*; and gain for *Yourselves* another glorious Victory.

"Come to the Poll without delay, and return the MAN selected by *Yourselves*, by a large Majority.

"STATE OF THE POLL.—FIRST DAY.

"Hobhouse 247

"Cartwright 21

"Lamb 171

"Committee, Fisher's Rooms,
Covent Garden, Feb. 15, 1819."

Mr. Lamb repeated his advertisement in the newspapers. Major Cartwright's friends contented themselves with placards. There was but little pleasantry attempted during any part of the Election. Mr. Hobhouse's friends reminded the public, that Mr. George Lamb was the author of "Whistle for it," a farce, enacted and damned at Covent-garden theatre. The principal joke of this gentleman and his friends was the picture of a horse's *rump* without a tail. The next best joke was a ballad, of which the burthen was allusive to Mr. Hobhouse's father, and ran in these words,—

"And like his old father, he'll soon catch a mouse."

The Morning Chronicle also of this day (Tuesday), contained the following paragraph:—

"Mr. Hobhouse, in his *tirade* against the Whigs, forgot all the *filial piety* of which he boasted in his first address to the Electors of Westminster. He surely is old enough to recollect that Sir Benjamin himself was once a *Whig*."

Mr. Hunt dispersed amongst the crowd at the hustings, a similar *jeu d'esprit*, as the papers called it.

"Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, a Place-holder, and his Son John, a Place-hunter.

"GLORIA HOBHOUSE!!!

"To the Father and Son,
All glory be given;
The Spirit is one,
And their rutting is even.

"The Father rats well,
The Son rats as clever;
They've rutted, they do rat,
And will rat for ever.

"A FERRET."

The Morning Chronicle, at a subsequent period, improved upon the pleasantry of Mr. Hunt, and had a paragraph touching a great *Carnatic Rat*, who had frequented Manchester Buildings, having been seen in Covent Garden. This was the general turn of humour against Mr. Hobhouse, or rather against Mr. Hobhouse's father; and considering that it came from those who had objected to Mr. Hobhouse's saying, that the name of Lamb was to be found amongst the Whigs who voted for the suspension bill and indemnity bill, it will shew how difficult it is to resist the temptation of cutting a joke, especially a good one.*

It was a very wet day, and the polling was by no means active. Sir Francis Burdett, preceded by a band and banners with patriotic inscriptions, and followed by about fifty of the Electors of St. James's parish, voted for Mr. Hobhouse at one o'clock. At the usual hour the two candidates made their appearance at the hustings. Mr. Hobhouse was this day accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, and both these gentlemen were received by the people with shouts of applause. Mr. Lamb also was cheered by those immediately under and about his end of the hustings, but the people bleated and hissed, and a sheep's head white on one side and black on the other, with *Whig* written on one ear and *Tory* on the other, was danced about before him to the great delight of the multitude. When the numbers were announced they stood thus:—

		TOTAL.
Hobhouse	222	— 469
Cartwright	5	— 26
Lamb	179	— 350

Mr. Hobhouse then stepped forward. He spoke as follows:—

“Gentlemen, your cause is again at the head of the poll—and I have no doubt but that, in spite of every art which will be resorted to by your opponent, it will still continue to triumph. I say, in spite of all the arts that will be resorted to—for I have now in my hand a proof of one of the most extraordinary artifices that has ever been practised at a contested election. Gentlemen, the paper to which I call your attention, comes from the Committee of my learned opponent. It contains certain observations on the declaration which I made on Saturday last, with respect to my opinion on

* The Compilers might have added, that Mr. Hobhouse, in mentioning the name of Mr. William Lamb as voting for the suspension and indemnity bill, threw out no family allusions whatsoever, but merely reminded the people, that a *Whig* sitting on the opposition bench often voted against the People. To reply by saying that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse also voted the same way was ridiculous, and nothing to the purpose, he being in direct political opposition to his son, and not as Mr. William Lamb is, in direct political friendship with his brother.—Ed.

Parliamentary Reform. If this paper, which I will now read to you, does not come from the Committee of the Learned Gentleman, I should thank him to disavow it; but it comes, I am positive, from that repository.—(*Applause.*)—That paper says, Gentlemen, that, in the City of Westminster, ‘ You have a right of suffrage, almost universal.’ This is a positive fallacy—for your City contains 168,000 inhabitants, and you have not 14,000 Electors. So that, in fact, not so much as a tenth of your population has a right to vote. (*Applause.*) ‘ What then,’ (continued this paper) ‘ does Mr. Hobhouse mean, by saying that he would give the utmost extent to the right of election? Why, he means to extend the right of suffrage in other places, but to abridge it in the City of Westminster? Now, I ask, under what pretext could they make so infamous an assertion? I never declared any such sentiments. But the author of the paper tells you, that ‘ when returned to Parliament, Mr. Hobhouse means to disfranchise the great body of the Electors.’ I ask of my Learned Opponent, and I put it to that honour which he is known to possess, to answer me, how he dares, or how his Committee dares to assert, that I mean, when in Parliament, to disfranchise the Electors of Westminster? The paper goes on to say, ‘ The opulent shopkeeper, the rich householder, he will leave in full possession of their votes—but he will deprive the honest mechanic, the industrious artisan, the humble labourer, of his rights.’ Gentlemen, this is going beyond the usual artifice resorted to at elections. It is a sad thing, that those persons give us, at the very outset of the election, a proof of the means by which they intend, if possible, to carry it. The Hon. Gentleman who seconded the nomination of my Learned Opponent, began by telling you a gross falsehood about myself—and almost the first placard which the party have issued, contains a gross insult to your understandings, and is so treacherous, so contemptible, so every way unworthy of the persons from whom it proceeds, that I know not how they can reconcile it with their characters, or with your known intelligence, to suppose that you would be gulled by such a production.—(*Applause.*) After this, can you ever believe any thing that proceeds from this Committee? (‘ No! no!’) Gentlemen, these papers were handed out, last night, from the Committee-room of my Learned Opponent, Mr. James Macdonald being in the Chair at the time. (*Applause.*) I now ask that Gentleman whether it is not a positive fact, that the bill I now hold in my hand proceeded from this Committee? (*Applause.*) Did it not, Mr. Macdonald? (*Applause.*)—(*Mr. Macdonald declined answering the question.*)—This, Gentlemen, is not the way in which the questions of a person who presents himself to your notice ought to be treated. This is not the manner in which the character of any man, who sets up as

a Candidate for Westminster, ought to be assailed.—(*Cheering.*) Those who sent forth this false statement know my principles. They know that I am an advocate for the largest possible extent of suffrage.—(*Applause.*) I have stated that point so fully and fairly, that no doubt of my sentiments can be entertained by any person who understands the plain meaning of plain language. It was said, Gentlemen, independent of this, that I was going to betray your cause, the great cause of Parliamentary Reform. I spoke my sentiments on this subject in as plain words as I could find—and I did so, because there was no other way, except placing them on paper, by which I could escape the misrepresentation of these Gentlemen. Here permit me to use a vulgar, but an intelligible word; and, I am sure, after what I have stated, you will consider the expression a just one,—I declare then, that the chief power of my opponents consists in telling infamous falsehoods.—(*Loud cheering.*) I am perfectly aware that those Gentlemen, in any transaction of private life, would scorn to act improperly. What then has the spirit of party done? It has made them give up every feeling, which, in a political point of view, they ought to cherish: but it has done more; it has made them abandon principles which have ever been dear even in private society.—(*Applause.*) This publication is not a common election trick. It goes far beyond that. It is a misrepresentation of every thing I have said. It denies that I am what I always have been, and always will be, a friend to the people. As far as I could, in Westminster, I have shewn what my principles are. Do these gentlemen, who have attacked me, mean to say that they will extend the right of suffrage to ‘the ingenious artisan, the industrious mechanic, and humble labourer?’ I have no objection to do this, but I believe my learned opponent has. (*Applause.*) If this handbill came from his committee, he meant that *he* would put his name to this creed, or that *I* would not. But he well knows that I expressed myself in favour of the largest possible extension of the elective suffrage—and, though possessed of this knowledge, he comes and tells you, that if I am returned to Parliament, one of the first measures I mean to resort to is, that of disfranchising a part of the Electors. I feel it incumbent on me, at the outset of this attempt, to state to you, that, if you believe one tittle of the observations on my past conduct, or of the anticipations of what my conduct is likely to be in future, as described by this Committee, you will shew yourselves not to be that intelligent body of men which I have ever considered you. (*Applause.*) I have done every thing I could, as far as deeds in the last election, and words in the present, can go, to shew that I would labour to the utmost extent of my power to support your existing rights, and to recover those which you have lost. (*Applause.*) But the opposing party cannot agree to my creed—and, therefore, Mr. Lamb is sent

forward. I have said, that the aristocracy of the country have assumed too great a power, a fact evidently seen in the proceedings of the present Ministers, and for this I am objected to. But, above all things, my political creed, that part of it particularly which points out Parliamentary Reform as the paramount object of my exertions, has excited opposition. (*Applause.*)—Why has it done so? Because Parliamentary Reform is no longer the paramount object of the Whigs!—(*Applause.*) Many of them, I am aware, will vote for it. But it is not now with them, what it will always be with me, the paramount object of my most zealous efforts. (*Applause.*) Another great source of opposition to me is, that I have been nominated by the people—that has created much objection. Gentlemen have talked a great deal about my nomination in a private room. I beg to remind them that they themselves have appealed to that very private room. The Whigs introduced to that room a most worthy and honorable man, Lord John Russell—but, when Mr. Wishart found only a small number, perhaps fifteen out of fifteen hundred Electors who attended the Meeting, in favour of him, he stated that he would not disturb the unanimity of the assembly, and withdrew him. The Whigs, on that occasion, appealed to this room, of which they now speak so lightly. (*Applause.*) This being the case, I say that the objection made to me is merely this—that I am not a Whig—(*Applause.*)—that I am not a party man—(*Applause.*) I am proud to say that I am not. I am a man chosen for the people, by the people; and, if elected, I will do no other business than that of the people. (*Applause.*) I will not do the business of party, I will not do the business of great families, but I will apply myself to your business, and to the business in which the whole empire is interested. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen—one more observation, and I have done. When again you see any hand-bills reflecting on my principles and character, I beg of you to inquire whether they come from this Committee, and are signed James Macdonald, Chairman, before you believe the allegations contained in them.”—(*Applause.*)

The paper to which Mr. Hobhouse alluded is subjoined.*

* “ TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

“ Gentlemen,—Mr. Hobhouse has told you from a written or a printed paper, that ‘ Extension of Suffrage is not only of SECONDARY, but even of THIRD-RATE IMPORTANCE,—that the first object for the People to obtain, is equality of right of suffrage. In other words, that there be one and the same qualification, *be that what it may*, for every Elector in the Commonwealth. The second object is, that equality of numbers elect each Representative. These objects attained,’ says the Gentleman, “ if I am asked, whether security from misgovernment by a real representation may be attained by an extension of suffrage, *SHORT OF UNIVERSAL*, I answer Yes, by an extension *FAR SHORT OF UNIVERSAL.*’

“ Gentlemen, in the City of Westminster you have a right of suffrage almost universal. What, then, does Mr. Hobhouse mean by giving the *same* qualification

Sir F. BURDETT next stepped forward, amidst the cheers of the Meeting; but, at the same moment, Mr. HUNT mounted the bar at the opposite end of the hustings, and began to address the multitude, in spite of the groans and hisses with which he was assailed. We understood him to complain that Sir Francis Burdett had acted improperly, in attempting to address the Electors before the Candidates were heard.

Mr. LAMB now presented himself to the attention of the Meeting; but his efforts to obtain a hearing were vain. After endeavouring to conciliate the favour of the crowd, for nearly a quarter of an hour, he was compelled to retire.

Mr. HUNT again stood forward, and exerted his utmost power of lungs, but with very little effect. He asked of the Electors, whether they were willing to have a Candidate thrust down their throats by Sir Francis Burdett? He was a political apostate, and had behaved most treacherously to Major Cartwright, whose principles he had so long advocated. His friend, Mr. Hobhouse, was like the mountain in labour—after all his prefatory throbs and convulsions he had brought forth a miserable mouse. He called on the Electors to hear the Honorable Baronet's falsehoods—he had them written down, and he wished he would answer them.

Here Mr. Hunt, with the agility of a cat, moved along the bar, for the purpose of approaching Sir Francis Burdett, amidst the most terrifying shouts of indignation. When he came near the place where Sir F. Burdett was standing, he read, from a written paper, a number of questions relative to the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett and of the Westminster Committee, towards Major Cartwright, the precise nature of which, from the excessive noise, it was impossible to collect. While he was putting those questions to the Honorable Baronet, several lumps of mud were hurled at him. In return for these unsavory compliments, Mr. Hunt bowed very respectfully, and at length reluctantly retired.—Some degree of calm having been restored—

Mr. LAMB again came forward; and amidst bleatings from nearly the whole concourse assembled, and the occasional encour-

to every elector in the Kingdom—the right of suffrage being *short*, very FAR SHORT OF UNIVERSAL. He means, Gentlemen, to extend the right of suffrage in other places, BUT TO ABRIDGE THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE IN WESTMINSTER. He tells you plainly, that when returned by you to Parliament, HE MEANS TO DISFRANCHISE THE MAJORITY OF HIS ELECTORS. The opulent shopkeeper, the master manufacturer, the rich householder, he will leave in possession of their votes; but, in order to introduce an equality of suffrage throughout the Commonwealth,—he will, in your City, *deprive* the honest mechanic, the ingenious artisan, the humble labourer, of *their present rights*.

“Let the Electors of Westminster, whom Mr. Hobhouse, and his friend, the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, are so ready to disfranchise, be true to themselves, and Mr. Hobhouse will be *short*, very FAR SHORT of success in his present struggle.

agement of his immediate neighbours, succeeded in obtaining a partial hearing.

The Morning Chronicle reported his speech to have been as follows:—

“ He said that he should have considered it impossible that the admirers of the eloquence of Mr. Hobhouse, should have been so alarmed at his (Mr. Lamb’s) puny efforts, as to endeavour to deny him the opportunity of replying to a speech, which consisted principally of questions on which Mr. Hobhouse affected an anxiety to receive an answer from him. (*Hear, hear.*) If he was sincere in his wishes for an answer, let his friends near him cease their interruption, and the answer he should have. If those friends, however, thought that they did Mr. Hobhouse a service by endeavouring to silence him (Mr. Lamb), from apprehensions of a successful rivalry of eloquence, he would recommend to them, as the more expedient course, to prevent Mr. Hobhouse from making any such speeches as he had that day made. (*Hear, hear.*) After all the pompous promises of yesterday, the day’s poll gave Mr. Hobhouse but the sorry majority of forty-three. That result evidently went to shew, that in place of advancing, the Honorable Gentleman had gone backwards in his day’s majority. For his part, he (Mr. Lamb) confessed, he did not regret that his opponent was still before him, as perhaps the greatest difficulty with which he had to contend, was the sanguine opinion of his friends that there was no doubt of his success. But he would ask them, whether some more flattering result was not to be expected than a majority of forty-three votes, after the Honorable Baronet (Burdett), the patron of the other Candidate, had, in pursuance to the annunciation of yesterday, marched down in all the power of pomp and strength with his force from St. James’s. (*Bravo! and cries of Hear, hear!*) After such an effort, he should have felt sorrow to see that any actual superiority of his (Mr. Lamb’s) should have too soon shocked the sensibility of the worthy Baronet, seeing, as he must, that the idolatry was almost extinguished—that even his popularity in Westminster was on the decline—(*Hear, hear!*) Even with some temporary loss to his own progress, he was glad that the worthy Baronet was saved any further mortification. That day he had presented himself on the hustings, but few of the wonted cheers announced his presence. Perhaps it was in consequence of that reception, that the worthy Baronet felt a fresh appetite for a second return, and had that evening endeavoured to obtain a previous hearing—(*Hear, hear!*) It was, indeed, a novel spectacle, and perhaps an instructive lesson, when even he (Sir F. Burdett) could not procure a hearing in Westminster—(*Hear!*) Mr. Hobhouse in his speech of that evening, had been reduced to the necessity of expressing himself in what

might be called hard words, and had called upon him to disavow a certain paper. There was an old adage, that when a man was likely to lose his cause, he was very apt to lose his temper. In that double predicament Mr. Hobhouse stood at present. When he, however, spoke of infamous falsehoods, and adverted to the repository in which they abounded, he (Mr. Lamb) was disposed to believe that Mr. Hobhouse had confounded the criticism on his dissertation on Parliamentary Reform, with the Report of that celebrated Committee, who some days past congratulated each other on the prospects "which the return of Mr. Hobhouse would promote." (*Applauses.*) But recurring to this paper which has excited so much the indignation of that Gentleman, those who read it, would perceive that it was the honest arguments of an individual upon the subject of Mr. Hobhouse's dissertation. In place of being incensed at such an explanation, he thought that Mr. Hobhouse was the writer's debtor, for surely he of all men should be obliged to those who made the attempt. Indeed if any person was entitled to the thousand pounds offered for rendering it intelligible, it was the author of this placard. (*A laugh, and Hear, hear!*) He agreed with the writer of that criticism, that the right of voting in Westminster approached as near as possible to universal suffrage. To such an extension of the right, as that of scot and lot, he was a friend—so much so, that he differed widely from his opponent, who considered the extension of suffrage, not as a vital, but as a third-rate question.—He had yesterday observed, that from inadvertence it was likely that some part of the speech of Mr. Hobhouse, might have escaped him. He recollected afterwards that it did, as he had not in answer referred to those observations which had fallen from Mr. Hobhouse relative to the heroism of the British soldiers on the glorious theatre of Waterloo. To support his opinion, Mr. Hobhouse felt it necessary to appeal to the authority of Earl Grey. But surely whatever opinion Statesmen might entertain on the policy of originating a war, no British heart could be insensible to the glory of our arms. The man who could contemplate such exertions with indifference, possessed not the proper feelings of a Briton. (*Loud cheers.*) Earl Grey disputed the policy of the war, but for having taken place, no man more rejoiced in the glory and greatness of England. What the dynasty of the Bourbons, introduced by Mr. Hobhouse, had to do with a Westminster Election, he was at a loss to discover, unless indeed it was the intention, on some future vacancy, for Mr. Hobhouse to propose Bonaparte as the Candidate. It remained only for him to thank the Electors for their kindness and attention. They might rest satisfied that all the predictions of Mr. Hobhouse would every future day be less and less realized. To his arguments, when he used them, he (Mr. Lamb) should endea-

your to reply, but by any reference to family reflections he would never disgrace himself."

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then appeared in front. He was received with the most enthusiastic applause, which a few of the gentlemen in the other end of the hustings endeavoured to interrupt. This only made the applauses more violent, and when they had ceased, Sir Francis spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen—I should not have obtruded myself on your notice on this occasion, had it not been for some gross misrepresentations which have gone forth to the public regarding my recent conduct; though they are as false as those by which my political life has been so frequently assailed, and which time will contradict as it has done those which have preceded them; still, when I consider the mischief which they may do, not to me individually indeed, but to that great cause which I have so long advocated, I feel it my duty distinctly to shew, that I never have deserted either the cause of the public, or that of any friend, public or private, with whom I have been connected. I am called upon particularly to perform this duty at this time, when the *lie* of the day will serve the *purpose* of the day, and be materially injurious to the great cause of Parliamentary Reform.

"I am sorry that an individual, who wished to put some questions to me, was not permitted to be heard. Perhaps you may be inclined to place as little confidence in that person as in any man alive; still, however, it is but fair play that every party should be heard.

"Before I proceed to notice those points which appear to implicate my own conduct, I cannot forbear to congratulate the people on the novelty of the Whig Candidate, or the Coalition Candidate, as Mr. Lamb may fairly be called, from his uniting the suffrages of both the *Ins* and the *Outs*, that for the first time, a Whig candidate dare not present himself to your notice, without assuming a disguise; I call it a disguise, putting on the character of a Reformer. If, before his nomination, the learned gentleman had declared himself to be an advocate for a Reform in Parliament, he knows that he would have thrown the apple of discord amongst his party, and gone far to dissolve that ill-assorted body, of which he now stands forward as the political organ—that he would have been rejected by them as a man who was no more of a Whig than I am.

I congratulate the people of England—it augurs well for the progress of Freedom, that not even a Whig dare now stand before the Electors of Westminster, without resting his claims to their support upon principles of Parliamentary Reform. It promises fairly for the restoration of our rights, that such concessions to popular freedom have been at length obtained from the present

Whig candidate—concessions never before extorted from any of his predecessors.

“ While I admit this to be an advantage, I cannot but wonder that any person should have such confined notions, as to be persuaded that the declarations of Mr. Lamb, upon the subject of Reform, are intelligible, while those of Mr. Hobhouse are not: it had been said, that the principles of Reform which the Whig candidate avows; were the same with those of the late Sir S. Romilly. What can any one understand by this? What are the principles, and where are they to be found? I, for one, never heard of them. I never saw them in writing, nor know where to look for them on record. I am therefore not a little surprized to hear it asserted, that they are more intelligible than those of Mr. Hobhouse.

“ Mr. Hobhouse, as well as myself, has purposely avoided using the phrase, universal suffrage, because when limitation is intended; it is absurd to use a term which admits of none. I know of but one person, but that a very great authority, Mr. Jeremy Bentham, who uses the expression universal suffrage, correctly—he maintains, and, in my opinion, demonstrates, that suffrage extending to all human beings without exception, however ludicrous it may appear, would in practice be perfectly harmless. My own opinion is, that suffrage extending to all men of mature age and sound mind, who for a certain period before an election have been resident either as householders or inmates within the district in which they are called upon to vote, is the point at which reason and practice seem to unite, but this is limited suffrage, it cannot be called universal, and may fairly be included in the declaration you have heard from Mr. Hobhouse. At the same time I have no hesitation in declaring that an extension of suffrage far short of that which I conceive to be the best, would be amply sufficient to insure a fair, just and free Government. I know there are many modes by which the same end may be obtained, and there is no plan of Parliamentary Reform which has ever been proposed since I have been in Parliament which I have not supported: and there is no plan which can be conducive to that end which I am not still willing to support. If this is to be called inconsistency, I am willing to bear the reproach: and if a character for consistency can only be obtained by one unyielding persevering determination; to give up nothing to the opinion of others; not to yield one iota of your own; it is a character not worth obtaining, and to which Major Cartwright is no more entitled than myself; because in 1809, Major Cartwright, in conjunction with me, drew up those resolutions which I then proposed in the House of Commons, as the foundation of a Bill for a Reform in Parliament, limiting the elective franchise to persons

paying direct taxes to the church, the poor, and the state. For my part I see no inconsistency, and no impropriety, in proposing different plans of Reform, care being taken, that each plan contains in itself sufficient security for the liberty of the country. If this is what Sir Charles Wolseley, whom I believe to be a very honest gentleman, deems inconsistent with public principle and political integrity, I must be content to do as well as I can without the advantage of his good opinion. This, however I may add, that I believe the very first speech I ever made on the subject of Reform, in 1797, expressed precisely the same sentiments which I now entertain. Such as I was, such I am, and such to the end of my career, whenever it may terminate, I am persuaded I shall remain.

"Sir C. Wolseley has stated that an honest man (a shoemaker of the name of Wilson) on giving his vote, said that he repented of having voted for me at the last election, because I had changed my principles, he did not like a man who deserted his old friend, and had acted like a snake in the grass. Mr. Wilson thought upon this occasion to do me an injury; I have no doubt my conduct will convince him that he has only done me an injustice, I respect him for his conduct—his motives are good, though mistaken. My principles I trust I have sufficiently shewn have never changed.

"As to deserting an old friend, Major Cartwright himself has made it almost a subject of complaint in the letter he addressed to the Electors of Westminster, that I was not his friend, and that our connexion was purely political. But I will say more, had Major Cartwright been one of my nearest and dearest friends, I could not, fulfilling the duty I owe to the Electors of Westminster, and under the circumstances in which I was placed, have recommended him for a Candidate. I was placed in a situation to consider not private friendship, but public duty; not to name that gentleman who might be most agreeable to myself, but that person who united as I thought in himself all those qualifications most likely to obtain the suffrages of the Electors of Westminster. I therefore recommended Mr. Hobhouse, because from all parts of Westminster, I heard reports from the Electors of their satisfaction at that gentleman's conduct during the last contest, and their willingness to support him in preference to any other person that could be named. But with what colour of pretence can the having declared at a large public meeting of the Electors of Westminster, that Mr. Hobhouse was the fittest person to represent them in Parliament, be construed into acting like a snake in the grass, I leave to my irreconcilable enemies to reconcile if they can. I must now repeat, whatever offence it may give in any quarter, what I before stated, that Major Cartwright, had he been put in nomination, could not have been carried. In saying so, I do not, and did not mean to

disparage the merits, whatever they may be, of Major Cartwright. Indeed *merit alone* was not the point then to be considered ; but the security of the independence of Westminster : the consideration was not merely who had the greatest portion of merit, but who, standing on just principles, had the best chance of success. Was this open avowal of an opinion, not intended to be offensive to any one, and having in view only the security of the independence of Westminster, to be considered as behaving toward Major Cartwright, like a snake in the grass ? I never uttered a disparaging word of Major Cartwright in my life. I defy any man among the multitude who now hear me, to say that I ever caballed, intrigued, or attempted in any way, by word or deed, to depreciate in public, or in any man's opinion, Major Cartwright : nor should I ever have complained, whatever reason I might have, excepting for the circumstances in which I am now placed, of Major Cartwright's conduct towards me. But I have a right to complain of the countenance given by Major Cartwright to the infamous lies propagated by Mr. Cobbett, some of which Major Cartwright knew to be lies, and yet so far from contradicting what he knew to be false, he, by not contradicting, sanctioned all as true. This I cannot think fair and honorable dealing. I disdain to notice Mr. Cobbett's falsehoods ; but that which is often unfit for a man to do himself, may be very fit and the duty of another to do for him. I will not, however, take up any more of the time of the meeting, by alluding to the feelings of irritated and disappointed vanity, or of what concerns individually myself.

" But there is another charge made by Sir Charles Wolseley, of a public kind. That gentleman has stated, that I was desirous of making Westminster a rotten borough : I am surprised at that gentleman submitting to become the parrot of a common calumniator—that he should be induced to come forward to repeat a calumny, which, self-refuting as it is, has been however refuted over and over again : that he should condescend to utter the unmeaning jargon, too silly for belief, and too weak for delusion, concerning Westminster being governed by a rump faction. What purpose of mine could be answered by degrading Westminster into a rotten borough ? Is it to secure a seat ? I mean nothing disrespectful to the Electors of Westminster, but I tell them, I care not *'that'* for the seat ; and that I am willing to resign it, whenever they may think it can be better filled by any other person, for the advancement of those principles of freedom, in the support of which we have been so long mutually engaged.

" I am undoubtedly anxious to have a colleague who entertains similar principles with myself, not from any personal consideration, but for the promotion of the common cause. On this account it is

that I am anxious for the success of Mr. Hobhouse: and I wish you to consider, what benefit is likely to be conferred upon that cause, by the return of a Whig Candidate, who is, as it were, a reformer and no reformer—who is a reformer here on the hustings, but cannot be a reformer with his own party—a reformer, of whom it is impossible to know what he is, or where to have him—a reformer of such a stamp, that he is like the sheep's head which has been paraded before the hustings, the face of which was black on the one side, and white on the other, presenting a different countenance, according to the persons to whom it was turned, and emblematical of party, according to the circumstance of being in or out of place. Let the outs be in, and the ins out, and the same change will be presented as on turning the side of the sheep's head: and by turning first one side, and then the other, they hope to deceive all parties. But it seems the learned gentleman glories in being a Whig: I know that amongst the Whigs are some of the best men in England; and I lament it for this reason, that party without principle defeats the purposes of the good, whilst the character of the good gives strength to the delusion, and promotes the interested views of the bad, who are unfortunately the most active and predominant. But I know not what the Whigs have done, now or heretofore, that should make any honest man glory in that thread-bare party distinction. In my opinion, they have done nothing, or worse than nothing, by deluding and misleading the people. At the Revolution, instead of carrying into effect the great principles which they then professed, they persuaded the people to be satisfied with a barren declaratory act, and Mr. Johnson, the Chaplain of my Lord Russell, that honest person, told his patron that the Whigs had abandoned the cause of the people, and that three honest lines securing to the nation the right of a fair Representation in Parliament, would have been more worth, than all the parade of their inefficient declaratory bill of rights: the same bill which that honest and able man, Thomas Paine, had designated as a Bill of Wrongs. Thus where the people deprived of the fruits of the Revolution, and left exposed to evils as great or greater than had ever been experienced under the rigour of the Stuarts. Another glorious act of the Whigs, was that act which Dr. Johnson compared to the creation of Twelve Peers in one day, in the time of Queen Anne, by the Tories, 'which,' says he, 'was bad enough, yet was not to be compared to the contempt of national rights, with which the House of Commons, some time after, at the instigation of Whiggism, elected themselves for seven years, having been elected for three by their constituents.' The establishment of a standing army in time of peace, and the military government under which we now live, was another of those acts in which the learned gentleman, as a Whig, might glory; and this unconstitutional and

fatal innovation, for fatal it has ever been found in whatever country it has been established, has now arrived at such a height, that we can hardly walk along the streets of London without being jostled off the pavement by armed soldiers, or ride along the roads without danger of being trampled under foot by dragoons. The public debt and system of Bank paper, the sad effects of which are so severely felt, and which seem to be so destructive, and so utterly remediless, is another blessing for which we are indebted to the Whigs, and in which the learned gentleman as a Whig may glory. The Electors of Westminster have now to contend with one of these glorious Whigs, or rather with a Coalition Candidate, the monstrous production of the Whig and Tory factions, 'between which two thieves,' says Mr. Ralph the historian, 'this country has been crucified.' But I trust the Electors of Westminster are now too enlightened to be duped by either party, and that they have sense and spirit to maintain their own independence in spite of both: and whatever may be the result of this contest, whether favorable or adverse to Mr. Hobhouse, God grant that the issue may be such as to promote the good old cause of English Liberty!"

Sir Francis concluded amidst loud applauses, and withdrew, together with Mr. Hobhouse, from the hustings. A large body of the people withdrew with them.

"Mr. MACDONALD then came forward, and said, that a question having been put to him personally, he trusted they would hear him. He was quite prepared to make all due allowance for the irritability and sourness exhibited by Mr. Hobhouse, the consequence, no doubt, of the utter disappointment of that overwhelming triumph, which he had been imprudent enough yesterday to announce from the Hustings for this day, but which, with all the trick and stage effect that could be given to it, had proved altogether abortive. When Mr. Hobhouse had stood forward with the paper in his hand, which he had so harshly characterised, he (Mr. Macdonald) imagined, that it must have contained at least one hundredth part of those atrocious calumnies, which were to be found in the report of that Committee, who claim the monopoly of the Representation of Westminster; of which, however, he admitted, that Mr. Hobhouse was but an instrument; and accordingly he was prepared, even without seeing it, to deny, as a gentleman, all knowledge of any such paper. But he asked them to judge of his surprise, when it appears that this same paper turned out to be nothing but a plain argument derived from the Honorable Gentleman's own plan, if plan it could be called, of Parliamentary Reform. Had Mr. Hobhouse not mystified his own understanding while employed in mystifying theirs on that very subject, an argument, an argument only he would have perceived it to be: if a bad one, it was unfortunate that he (Mr.

Hobhouse) had no better materials on which to found a speech; if a good one, its effect was not to be got rid of by any question Mr. Hobhouse could put, or any answer the Committee could give. He well remembered the paper in question being brought to their Committee-room, and that it had not a little amused them; he was therefore happy that Mr. Hobhouse had given it a publicity it could not otherwise have had; and he earnestly recommended it to the perusal of all those who heard him. Mr. Hobhouse had been kind enough to take under his protection his private character, and that of the highly respectable gentlemen and tradesmen of Westminster with whom he co-operated, on Mr. Lamb's behalf; they were much obliged to him, but would dispense with his future services in that line. But, if Mr. Hobhouse meant to insinuate, that he or they were capable in their public, any more than their private capacities, of propagating or countenancing falsehood in any shape, he threw back the imputation in his teeth, and appealed from it even to that tribunal which Mr. Hobhouse deemed most favorable to him."

After Mr. Macdonald concluded, Mr. Hunt again stepped forward and said something, which the universal hissing prevented from being heard even by his next neighbour; but which the *Morning Chronicle* reported to have been this sentence: "You have seen them, and what an exhibition they have made. I shall not detain you longer, but say more to-morrow."

Mr. GALE JONES then spoke to the dissolving assembly; but his words would have been altogether lost, if the *Morning Chronicle* alone of all the papers, had not preserved the following record of them:

"At that late hour he felt it would be improper in him to detain them, especially after what they had heard; but it was utterly impossible not to allude to the appearance of the Honorable Baronet, who had done every thing except refuting the charges made against him. Ingratitude was the blackest crime in the catalogue, especially when it was directed against an old friend who had been the guide of one's youth, and had instilled into one's mind the principles which secured popularity, and led to future fame and honour. How far this applied to the Honorable Baronet they might judge. During the last Election he had strenuously endeavoured to assist Sir Francis, but he could do so no more. If Westminster required a dictator, it was a matter of little moment whether that power was vested in Sir Francis Burdett or Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Jones then stated he should not detain them, as it was now dark, but to-morrow he would take the liberty of coming to the Hustings, and making other observations."

Mr. GALE JONES's voice was heard after his person had ceased to be distinguishable. He was attended by a very few individuals towards the close of his SPEECH.

On this evening, the Committee conducting the Election of Mr. Hobhouse, published the following hand-bill :

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

“ Electors of Westminster,—The contest in which we are now engaged, is of more importance to *liberty* than any of your former contests.

“ The two *Aristocratical* Factions have again combined to suppress the voice of the People—they have once more laid aside their disgraceful squabbles for power and plunder, and have united to prevent Reform.

“ The leaders of the Tories, and the leaders of the Whigs, with the *refuse* of all parties, now associate at the same table, and co-operate in the same *bad* cause. Personal hatreds the most venomous, animosities the most deadly, are suspended, to insure the destruction of your Freedom. They mistake your inactivity for indifference to the cause of Reform, and hope by its continuance to triumph over you.

“ They deceive themselves. You will crowd to the Poll, and secure your independence, by returning Mr. Hobhouse with an overwhelming majority.”

The decided coalition which had now manifestly taken place between the Court party and the Whig party, induced the parish Committee of St. Margaret's and St. John's to publish the following hand-bill :—

“ ST. MARGARET AND ST. JOHN.

“ The select vestries, the tax and rate-gatherers, and all the host marshalled by undue influence, are arrayed against you : be not deceived by these men. They were the tools of the Court Candidate at the last Election, and they are now the abject slaves of the Whig Faction, though many of them pay no parish-rates whatever. Judge and act like freemen, and vote for Hobhouse.”

These parishes, from the influence of the court and the church, and the jail, are more peculiarly at the command of a candidate, assisted by the government, and Sir M. Maxwell had a majority of votes in them at the last Election.

In the mean time, the activity of Mr. Lamb's canvassers composed of the great body of the aristocracy with the young gentlemen of almost all the club-houses, was beyond all precedent, and was soon felt upon the polling of the subsequent days. Mr. Byng, the member for Middlesex ; several members of the Bedford family ; the whole of the Cavendishes, and their numerous connexions ; the Spencers ; the Grosvenors ; it was the cause of the two factions against the people, and the majority of the nobility at the west end of the town, were in activity.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.—THIRD DAY.

The bustle at the hustings this day was less animated than during any of the preceding days; but the crowd increased towards the evening. The streets and wooden structures were as usual thronged, and from one of them, a woman of masculine mein and Stentorian voice, indulged at intervals in declaiming violently, with menacing gestures, against Mr. Hunt. At four o'clock the respective candidates made their appearance in front of the hustings: Mr. Hobhouse was accompanied by Mr. Scrope Bernard Davies; Mr. Lamb by Lord William Russell, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Wishart, Mr. Graham of Netherby, and several other Gentlemen; Mr. Hunt, Mr. Northmore, Mr. Peter Walker, Mr. Gale Jones, were on their old ground. At a quarter past four o'clock the poll board was hoisted.

		Gross Poll.
Hobhouse	. . . 158	. . . 622
Cartwright	. . . 3	. . . 29
Lamb	. . . 265	. . . 615

The people in all quarters shouted "*Hobhouse for ever.*" Mr. Lamb's friends near him huzzaed for "*Lamb and freedom.*" "*The old Major and liberty,*" was also heard from some few voices at the same end of the hustings.

Mr. Hunt first stepped forward, but the people would not hear him; he was hissed off just as he said that "Mr. Hobhouse looked rather shy on this day's poll; for the great Goliath, Sir Francis Burdett, had marched off with his seven-league boots;" adding, "three cheers for Mr. Lamb." Mr. Lamb made an obeisance in acknowledgment—(*a voice in the crowd exclaimed, "Hunt, will you take a bow from Lamb?"*)*

The clamour was very great, but tranquillity was restored when Mr. Hobhouse appeared in front, and addressed the Electors:—

Gentlemen,—The extraordinary exertions of your opponents have raised them this day considerably on the poll. At the same time I feel that you have no cause for despondency, nor any reason for thinking that the Electors of Westminster have changed their opinions on the great subject of Parliamentary Reform—(*cries of No, No, we never will.*) I repeat, that the exertions made by your opponents have this day been extraordinary; and I add, that they have been so in more senses than one: since they have been of a nature

* *British Press*, Thursday, Feb. 18. "*The Times* says that Mr. Hunt proposed three cheers for Major Cartwright—the noise was so great that it was impossible to say who had the honour of being thus noticed by Mr. Hunt, but Mr. Lamb seemed to take it to himself.

not resorted to for many years in Westminster. One of their schemes, Gentlemen, has been to represent me under a character which I did not expect to wear even by their favor—for, Gentlemen, they are kind enough to call me—what do you think? Why of all singular animals in the world—A TORY! they call me A TORY—*(loud laughter.)* A very respectable nobleman has, I have been assured, in his canvas for Mr. Lamb, designated me by that singular title—*(name, name.)*—Gentlemen, I cannot name the person to whom I allude, and you will on reflection see that such an exposure is not allowed even during the heat of an election contest. This artifice, it is sufficient to know, has been very generally resorted to, and has had no little effect to the prejudice of your cause. Gentlemen, you must be all aware, that the friends of the Coalition Candidate, are now presenting a scene never, I believe, before witnessed in Westminster. Their canvassers, in overflowing numbers, are hunting in couples, Whig and Tory, hand in hand, and behind them, sometimes to throw in an argument at need, one of that pure party whom you see assembled at the other end of the hustings—*(loud laughing and cheers.)* Mr. Burke's description of a certain administration is nothing to it: "such a piece of mosaic—a pavement so tessellated and variously inlaid—here a bit of black, there a bit of white, &c." To give you some notion of my adversaries' supporters, I must tell you, if you knew it not before, that they come exactly from that quarter which arrayed such disinterested numbers in favour of Sir Murray Maxwell. This day, a Commissioner of the Navy voted against you, the inspector objected to his vote; but it was allowed. Gentlemen, as long as you support me, I care not if all the Commissioners of all the Public Offices vote against me—they are numerous, we feel; but, thank God, they are not the majority—*(bravo, bravo!)* Gentlemen, I wish I could have heard the speech of Mr. Lamb yesterday; but I could scarcely hear a word of it, nor could I hear all the applauses which the Morning Chronicle says were bestowed upon it—*(cries of No, nor could we.)* As it is, I am obliged, however, to answer the Chronicle report of that speech. I find there, that my Honorable Opponent has described me as being angry. I do not myself recollect, that I was in such a mood; but if I was, it may be well accounted for by recollecting that I am here only in my noviciate, and have for the first time encountered calumny, misrepresentation, and all the artifices which electioneering morality may, for aught I know, admit. Let it be recollected that I am quite inexperienced in this disgraceful warfare. Had I been opposed by a regular Court candidate, I should have prepared for insult and outrage; but I own I was not fully prepared for trick and imposture. Let it be recollected that I have never before been engaged in a

struggle with a Whig!—(*great applause.*) I may be allowed for once to feel some little indignation at the discovery of the stratagems these Gentlemen condescend to employ against the People: but I have got into a good school, and when I have been used a little longer to a Whig, I shall despise all misrepresentation, and shall “let it pass by me like the idle wind which I regard not.”—(*acclamations*) You will, however, permit me to remark upon an accusation, which, as it touches a distinguished character, I am unwilling to pass by in silence. The Morning Chronicle has been indignant that I should in my speech at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on February 9, have called Mr. Fox a *Radical Reformer*. A fact so notorious I did not expect would be denied. I quoted from the book; and I again submit to you the inference to be drawn from the words used by that illustrious party leader, in the debate on the assessed taxes on January 4, 1798. Mr. Fox then said, “*That a Radical Reform, both of the representation of the People in Parliament and of the abuses that have crept into the practice of the Constitution of this Country, together with a complete and fundamental change of system of administration must take place; and that until it did, he for one, would take no share in any administration, or be responsible in any office in his Majesty’s councils.*”

Now, Gentlemen, does it not astonish you, that after the reference to these words; even the Morning Chronicle should be hardy enough to say that Mr. Fox was not a Radical Reformer?—(*A voice in the crowd—“These papers would say any thing.”*) I think that with such a document we may venture to affirm that *Radical Reform* was the *sine quâ non*, the indispensable condition of the Whigs in 1798. Is it the indispensable condition of the Whigs in 1819?—You shall hear. The Edinburgh Review for last June, published the Whig manifesto: that manifesto contains these words:—“*If they (the Whigs) can carry the Catholic question, and effect a wholesome and moderate Reform of Parliament, the Country will gain so much the more; but no such point should ever be thought of as a condition sine quâ non.*” It is, I think, no harsh judgment on this party to affirm, that every time a Whig rises to speak, his principles drop from him like water. The Whigs in 1798 would not come into office without a Radical Reform of Parliament. The Whigs in 1806 came into office under Lord Grenville, who, on the very same occasion of the assessed taxes to which I have before alluded, protested that he gave his vote as a pledge against Reform. The Whigs in 1807 went out of office because they could not carry the Catholic question. The Whigs of 1818 say, that “*no such point should be thought of as a condition sine quâ non.*” And last of all, the Whigs of 1819, at their

great opposition muster dinner, will not pledge a single glass of wine to the health of their once beloved, but now deserted mistress, "*Parliamentary Reform*"—(*the loudest acclamations.*)

It is true, that Reformers are still to be found amongst the Whigs; but it is equally true, that many of that party disclaim the cause. Is Mr. Lamb one of the first, or of the last sort? Is he a Whig of 1798, or a Whig of 1819? If he were a Whig of 1798, do you think you would see a Commissioner of the Navy voting for him? Do you think you would see the Secretary at War canvassing for him?—(*Great applauses from the people, and hisses from Mr. Lamb's gentlemen.*) For my own part, I cannot but suspect my opponent to be rather one of those supple, pliant, plastic Whigs, easily to be moulded into any shape—of no fixed principles—

"Who now to this side, now to that side leaning,
Mean not, but blunder round about a meaning."

One of those, who inclining now to the People, and now to the Court, totter between the two, and serve like a featherbed to intercept and keep off the shot aimed by the People against the Court—(*great applause and laughter.*) I rather think that our opponents have themselves furnished us with a clue by which to discover the sort of Whigs to whom Mr. Lamb may be fairly supposed to belong. The Whigs of 1798 were usually, by their enemies, proscribed as revolutionists, republicans, and Frenchmen, both in politics and religion; but these Whigs have been liberal enough to make these very charges against me; so that I am, according to their own shewing, the Whig or the Foxite of 1798; and they are in declared hostility to that desired and almost obsolete character. The honorable Auctioneer who seconded Mr. Lamb's nomination called me a revolutionist and a Frenchman in politics. Mr. Lamb himself, since the retreat of his seconder, has continued the latter charge, and the Chronicle of yesterday advances that I am not only a republican, but an atheist.* Gentlemen, I have

* The following is the article in the Chronicle to which Mr. Hobhouse alluded. It may serve to shew to what shifts the opponents of that Gentleman were driven for the sake of finding some objection to him:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"Gentlemen,—After all that Mr. Hobhouse has said of himself and of his sentiments, I presume the really enlightened Electors of Westminster will determine, that he is a 'Nondescript Politician;' and that in comparison with Mr. Lamb he is utterly unworthy of their regard. And permit me, Gentlemen, to throw a little light on the subject of Mr. Hobhouse's public character and pretensions. It shall not be elicited from *The Quarterly Review*, but from a paragraph of his own writing, and from the remarks of a truly respectable Journal (*The Monthly Review*) thereon. Mr. Hobhouse has recently published '*Historical Illustrations*

already observed, that the accusation of upholding and flattering Buonaparte, never can be applied to me. I never was his advocate, I was the advocate of the right of the French People to choose what sovereign they preferred—(*loud acclamations.*) Lord Grey advocated the same right. As for flattery, it was, you must allow, a strange time to choose for adulation. The man was fallen, when I told the truth of him, and recognized in him the undoubted fa-

of the Fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*. Among many very just and able remarks on this Work in *The Monthly Review* for November last, are the following:—

“The degree of valuable instruction which may be derived from Mr. Hobhouse’s discretion and good sense in political matters, may perhaps be conjectured by the following extract:—

“We have heard too much of the turbulence of the Roman democracy and of the Augustan virtues. No civil tranquillity can compensate for that perpetual submission, not to laws but persons, which must be required from the subjects of the most limited monarchy. The citizens of the worst regulated republic must feel a pride, and may indulge a hope superior to all the blessings of domestic peace, and of what is called established order, another word for durable servitude. The struggles for supreme though temporary power amongst those of an equal condition, give birth to all the nobler energies of the mind, and find space for their unbounded exertion. Under a monarchy, however well attuned, the chief motive for action must be altogether wanting, or feebly felt, or cautiously encouraged. Duties purely ministerial, honours derived from an individual, may be meritoriously performed—may be gracefully worn; but as an object of ambition, they are infinitely below the independent control of our fellow-citizens, and perhaps scarcely furnish a compensation for entire repose. The natural love of distinction on any terms may push us into public life, but it palsies our efforts—it mortifies our success, perpetually to feel that in such a career, although a failure is disgraceful, a victory is inglorious—

‘Vincere inglorium—ateri sordidum:’

These are the sentiments of *Agricola*, and the words of *Tacitus*, and bespeak the real value of the subordinate dignity, which is all that can be obtained under a *Domitian* or under a *Trajan*—under the worst or under the best of Princes.”

“The Reviewer very truly and appropriately adds, ‘We forbear to say any thing on the hints about fate and fortune, and at the sneers about the harmony of the world, because we imagine, that any such intimations of scepticism are as innoxious as the foregoing preference of republicanism.’

“I trust, Gentlemen, that I have redeemed my pledge, and have afforded some light for the guidance of the worthy Electors of Westminster in their choice of a Representative. I also hope, that the ‘*ignis fatuus*’ of Sir Francis Burdett’s recommendation, and of Mr. Hobhouse’s own pretensions, will be completely dissipated; and that the man (Mr. Lamb) who has adopted the political sentiments of a Fox, and pledges himself to tread in the steps of a Romilly, will be triumphantly returned to serve in Parliament upon the present occasion.

“Yours, &c.

IMPARTIAL.”

It is possible that Mr. Hobhouse may not be so very much ashamed of having written the above passage, and it is probable that had he mentioned that it was only an amplification of a sentence in the “*Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*,” the *Monthly Reviewer* would have had some respect for the opinion of Montesquieu. For Impartial, however, knew as little of Mr. Fox’s political sentiments as the Reviewer did of the writings of Montesquieu. Mr. Fox’s admiration of republicanism shines in those brilliant colours, with which he arrayed the virtues of the ancient democracies in his noble Speech on Reform in 1797.

vourite of the French People, compared to the triumphant sovereign then on their throne. It is tolerably clear, that Mr. Lamb would not have voted with the Whigs who opposed the war in 1815; but would have opposed Lord Grey and voted for the war. I see nothing disgraceful in attempting to excite a sympathy for the fallen fortunes of an enemy, had I done so, and this is the precise period which I should, if any, choose for eulogising Buonaparte. It appears to be the precise time these Whigs choose for abusing him—(applauses.) But besides being attached to the tyrant Buonaparte, it seems, strange inconsistency, that I am also by principle a *republican*! so say the royalist Whigs. Gentlemen, had it been my fortune to have been born under a republic, I know I should have had the inclination, and I hope I should have had the courage to die for the preservation of that noble form of Government. But my lot has been cast otherwise; and I am quite contented with that freedom, which by this kingly government, such as it existed in its pure and ancient forms, we have a right to enjoy—(applauses.) As to the charge of scepticism, I hardly know what to say; it is a charge which invariably in all times and nations, has been made against men of spotless life and integrity, against whom no specific imputation could be brought to bear. It is a slander which disgraces the accuser rather than the accused. On one point, I must indeed allow my want of faith—(an individual in the booth opposite to Mr. Hobhouse here began hissing violently; thinking, possibly, that Mr. Hobhouse was about to make a confession of infidelity.)* I don't believe in the Whigs—(loud shouts of laughter and applauses.) I do not believe that they ever intended to do for the People, what they promised to do for the People. I do not believe that, shackled as they are by the ties of party, they can do for the People, what some of them may wish to do for the People.

I now beg leave to allude to the last charge made against me by Mr. Lamb. He accuses me of being the *protégé* of Sir Francis Burdett, that is, of being protected by Sir Francis Burdett. Whatever disgrace is imputable to me for being esteemed worthy of a great public trust by your representative, I willingly accept. (Applause.) I seek the patronage of no man living; but I am proud of the approval of any honest man, and I am most proud of the esteem of him who is esteemed by all. (Great acclamations.) Were his influence acquired by the usual qualities, I should as little boast of his support as I would of that of the Whigs; but his influence has been honorably acquired; it has been acquired by long years of sacrifice and service in the public cause; and, so far from feeling myself degraded by his recommendation (for this, Gentlemen, is, you

* At this time, that respectable newspaper the New Times, accused Mr. Hobhouse, not only of atheism, but of being a friend of Lord Byron's.

know, all the interference which is now made a charge against him and me), I am, and may surely be, vain, that from the glory which encircles his patriotic brows, a ray has been reflected, to shine upon and encourage my humble exertions in the defence of your liberties. (*Loud and continued acclamations.*) Before I drop this subject, I cannot but comment, with the feelings which I am sure will be common to us all, upon having heard of an individual, whom I now see at the end of the long line of my opponents, accusing Sir Francis Burdett of ingratitude. Mr. Gale Jones has accused Sir Francis Burdett of ingratitude. (*A voice cried out, "Mr. Hobhouse, don't degrade yourself by speaking of such scoundrels."*) What a charge, and from what a man! from that very man, to get whom out of prison, Sir Francis Burdett got himself into prison. (*Here a general shout of indignation and horror against Mr. Gale Jones was raised throughout the whole multitude, along all the line from end to end, in the booths, and on the hustings.*) Gentlemen, before I take my leave for this day, allow me to give such a proof of my sincerity in the great cause of Parliamentary Reform, as will, I think at least, put a stop to all further misrepresentation as to my indifference on that subject. Mr. Lamb, if I understand the report of his speech, has declared himself for householder suffrage, and shorter, perhaps triennial, parliaments. (*Mr. Lamb bowed.*) Now, although my notions of Reform go beyond this plan, and I take a wider view of the rights of the people, yet as I do not count at all upon my single unavailing voice, and as I wish the people to get all they can, when they cannot get all they want, I will most readily jump down from these hustings, and, with the consent of those who proposed me, retire from the contest, if Mr. Lamb will to-morrow produce a written pledge from the leader of the party which he here represents. (*Here a roar of laughter from Mr. Lamb, Mr. Macdonald, and Mr. Lambton, which was answered by violent hisses from the people, and cries of "Shame—silence."*) Well! I do not ask a written pledge; I will take the candidate's honorable word, if he will give it, that his Whigs will never come into office, without making a condition for that Reform, comparatively small as I think it, which Mr. Lamb says that he himself intends to support. As for Mr. Lamb's individual intention, it is nothing; he appears here as the representative of a party; he glories in being of that party—I have a right to ask what that party will do. If he gives his word that his party will do what he would do, I repeat that I willingly consent that his party should enjoy the triumph of seeing their nominee member for Westminster: they will, by giving the pledge, have deserved your suffrages; and I, by extorting it, shall have rendered ten thousand times a greater service than I ever could have performed in Parliament. (*Loud applauses.*) If the candidate will

not give this pledge for his party, you will, of course, consider that he makes use of the word Reform as an electioneering bait, and you will tear down his Reform placards, and trample upon them before his face in front of the hustings. My own wish is but to promote the interests of the people, whether I remain or whether I retire, and all I ask is, for the opportunity of proving the sincerity of my professions.

Mr. Hobhouse drew back amidst reiterated applauses.

Mr. LAMB came forward, he was assailed by bleatings and hisses from the great body of those in front of the hustings, but was cheered by those within the hustings. He could be heard only by those close to him. He spoke as follows:—

Will those Gentlemen, said Mr. Lamb, who profess such a regard for the rights of men and the freedom of discussion, allow me to be heard—or is it their system of Reform and of Election privilege, that only one side is ever to be attended to? (*Applauses, with partial hisses.*) What can induce the supporters of my opponent to endeavour thus to prevent my humble answers to his eloquent and argumentative attacks? Is it the state of this day's poll that has contributed to aggravate their disinclination to hear me? The Electors of Westminster now see, that though I deal in no predictions of what the morrow shall accomplish, I have been enabled, by their support, to demonstrate that my opponent is as little to be confided in as to his predictions of success as to his plans of Reform. On the poll of this day I have had a majority of one hundred and four on the gross numbers; Mr. Hobhouse continues to keep a majority of seven. That small majority, I think I may say, will, in a few hours after the opening of to-morrow, be extinguished. My Honorable Opponent has informed you, that though I yesterday stated he was in an ill humour, he was under no such influence, but quite the contrary. If I were wrong, I must say, his good humour was of a most unpleasant cast. (*A laugh, and hear!*) In the various remarks that have been made on my speech, I am given to understand, some of Mr. Hobhouse's friends find fault with an alleged deficiency in my utterance. I can only say on this point, that though I feel myself most unequal to that Gentleman in the copious flow of his language, and the strength of his voice, I still am in a good school, and may possibly profit under his example. And, as he has promised to learn temper from me, I pledge myself to take lessons in oratory from him; at least as far as the manner and the language go; for against the matter I protest. Every day my opponent presents himself on these hustings with extracts from this volume and the other; these extracts he converts into charges, and these charges he tortures into arguments. But he forgets the main point—that we, to whom he speaks about them, are possibly ignorant of their ex-

istence. I must, therefore, put it to him in fairness, before he comes down with a fresh supply; to advise me before hand where I might read them, in order to be enabled to note a suitable reply. These ponderous quotations had so completely oppressed the subject, that I myself felt indebted for the relief which the ingenious introducer of the sheep's head yesterday afforded to us all. I do assure that ingenious Elector, that I felt happy my name afforded even that temporary amusement. I do hope, therefore, the gloomy despondency will now dissipate; and that if my Honorable Opponent cannot find votes, he will let us have, as their substitute, a little wit. (*Hear, hear!*) As his friends yesterday favoured us with the head of the sheep, I trust they have not thrown away the more valuable part of the animal. I am anxious, therefore, to see the joints—then, indeed, there would be vigour in the wit, and we should relish it the more heartily, with the prospect of a good dinner. (*A laugh.*) But, amongst the new accusations of my opponent against me, he has this day mentioned, that a certain Nobleman, canvassing for me, had represented him as a Tory. In the language of the present day, a Tory is understood to be a supporter of the present Ministers. Now, if my canvassers had endeavoured to get votes against Mr. Hobhouse, on the ground of his being a Tory, that, I think, is the strongest proof that I can give, and from the mouth of my opponent, that the charge of my being a Court Candidate, in which character he has also represented me, falls altogether to the ground. Upon as good grounds he has this day asserted, that my principles are to be doubted, because the Commissioners of the Customs, &c. give their votes for me. The Honorable Gentleman should inform himself better.* He should have known that these Commissioners were by law incapacitated by Act of Parliament from voting at any Election. In regard to what has fallen from him, as to the speech of Sir F. Burdett, I think that the Worthy Baronet might have attended this day to hear the reply of those who might feel inclined to advert to that speech, which, as Mr. Hobhouse says of mine, I can protest, that from the tumult which prevailed, I could not hear yesterday. With the quarrels of Sir F. Burdett with Mr. Gale Jones I can have nothing to do; but I feel, in all fairness, the Worthy Baronet should appear here again, to give those who were attacked, the power of explaining. But of his plan of Reform my Worthy Opponent continues still enamoured. His Honorable Friend, Sir F. Burdett, considered it a most intelligible one. I have looked into the dictionary for the definition of "intelligible," and find it thus given—"Possible to be understood—probable—

* Mr. Lamb, as the Times observed, made a mistake. Mr. Hobhouse said a Commissioner of the Navy had voted for Mr. Lamb.

not easy." Thus it was possible that some very studious man, in the retirement of his closet, might discover its meaning; or that such a man as Major Cartwright, who had devoted so many years to the consideration of the question, might ascertain what was intended; but he must ask, was that the plan which the Electors of Westminster had a right to expect, after the three months' assurances of my opponent?—It might have a meaning, but what was it? The Hieroglyphics of Egypt had a meaning, but within the memory of man that meaning has never been discovered. Then we were told, that Mr. Fox had advocated Radical Reform. What, I again ask, does Mr. Hobhouse really mean, when he talks of Radical Reform?—If it mean, as the natural construction implies, a Reform to its extreme extension, then I tell the Honorable Gentleman that he has no claim to be the advocate of that plan. If such principles are to be those on which the Representation of Westminster is to be granted, then Major Cartwright is the man who should have the return. For my part, I repeat that I am a friend to the extension of suffrage to scot and lot voters. I consider it a fair and open right, but when Mr. Hobhouse calls on me to pledge myself for others, I again tell him that I disdain any blind adherence to any party—that I never will surrender my own conscientious conviction to the dictates of any leader—that I shall never be pinned to the tail of any party, nor appear before my country with a certificate from any man. The Gentleman's offer I cannot accept—it is with the Electors of Westminster to decide; and, if I am not mistaken, they have determined that he shall retire from this contest, whether he wishes it or not.

At the conclusion of Mr. Lamb's speech, Mr. Hobhouse, and the Electors near him retired, as also did several of Mr. Lamb's friends.

Mr. NORTHMORE then came forward. While he was speaking there was much tumult—he said:

That he had repeatedly been present at the Annual Dinners given by the Electors of Westminster, where "The Purity of Election" was always sure to be one of the toasts; but now, he might safely say, the glory had departed, provided the present *elève* of Sir Francis Burdett succeeded in securing his election. Well, indeed, might Mr. Oldfield say, in his next edition of his History of Boroughs, "the Borough of Westminster; 14,000 voters; Sir F. Burdett, patron." For himself, he must say, he had been contesting four days at Exeter on the same subject; and little did he suppose he should have been called on to come from a distance of some hundred miles in the country, to advocate the rights of the people here. He could describe Sir Francis as merely a *frothy mushroom*; but the moment arguments of principle were addressed, the mushroom

speedily vanished, when the sunshine of truth appeared. No sooner had the Electors of Westminster got rid of one mushroom, than another sprung up; and such a mushroom was Mr. Hobhouse, who came under the wing of the Hon. Bart. (*Applause.*) It was now said the venerable Major was too old, and, of course, unfit for being a Representative in Parliament. This, in itself, was another melancholy proof of the little regard which the Committee paid to the services of those who had been long attached to the cause which they pretended to advocate. He had heard repeatedly the health of that old veteran drank at the annual meetings of the Electors; and he had also heard it followed by the song of "The ship that steers steady." Now he would be glad to learn, was there the slightest ground or not, for supposing that the venerable Major had become less steady in the cause than he had formerly been? With respect to his age, he might state to them that the veteran Blucher was older than the Major, as was also the Duke of Roxburgh, who had been recently returned to Parliament as one of the Scottish peers. The conduct of the Committee, and their little respect to the venerable Major, reminded him of the play where Bernardine was called on to come out. Bernardine, being asleep, was called on to come out and be hanged. He replied, "Who calls me?" The answer was, "I, the hangman, get up and be hanged." Bernardine replied, "Pox on your throat, go along, I am sleepy." Such was the case with the Committee, for when the friends of the Major called on them for their support, their reply was, "Pox on your throats, go along, we are sleepy." (*Loud applause.*) In that sacred volume to which all were taught to look with respect, they were told that the labourer was worthy of his hire. If such was the case, he would put it to them, was there a man so worthy of reward, a man who had done more in the vineyard than the venerable Major had done? True, that respectable individual had not attained that respectable station on the poll, which his sterling worth, his inflexible integrity, and his indefatigable industry, entitled him to expect; but he (Mr. N.) would, nevertheless, not give way to feelings of despondency; but, on the contrary, express his most ardent hopes, that the Electors would come forward by hundreds to-morrow, to testify their high esteem for the venerable patriot, and their gratitude for his long and disinterested services. (*Hear, hear, hear!*) One of the first principles which a representative should be taught, was obedience to the wishes of his constituents. That principle was deeply rooted in the heart of the venerable Major, and that Gentleman had no wish for a seat in the House, except only to oblige the Electors of Westminster, and to promote the cause of genuine reform and constitutional freedom. He was firmly persuaded, that such was the aversion which Ministers had to the venerable Major,

that, if Mr. Lamb had not presented himself as a candidate, they would have given their cordial support to Mr. Hobhouse, the protégé of Sir Francis Burdett. (*Loud cheers.*) Nay, he must say further, that he should not have been surprised to have seen that Holy Trinity come down in a body to do so, viz. Old Bags, Derry Down Triangle, and the Doctor. (*Loud and long applauses.*) To deprive men of freedom, was an act alike unjust to the human race, and to the principles of our law, by which it was declared that no man should be bound by laws, except those made by and with the consent of the realm. (*Applause.*)

It may be as well just to remark, that the report of this speech from *The Chronicle*, should be accompanied by the comment of *The Times*—that “it was accompanied by such continued shouts of disapprobation and applause, as to be difficult to collect more than a few sentences of it.” Those who were present will remember; that the disapprobation came from the people—the applauses from the hustings.

Mr. GALE JONES stood forward. His appearance had the effect of producing a sudden and most tremendous uproar. He was hooted and abused, and for some time it was impossible that he could be heard by the individuals next to him; but he persevered, and in spite of continued intermissions, according to the report of *The British Press*. *The Morning Chronicle* the next day, stuck this speech with applauses; they came, however, from its own Reporter, and the Whig Gentlemen at the Hustings.

Mr. JONES said, he came to redeem the promise he had made yesterday, of making some observations on the respective claims of the Candidates who solicited their suffrages. Mr. Hobhouse was himself the best practical illustration of his own principles; for the longer they heard him, the less they liked him. (*Applause and disapprobation.*) Some people had on occasions of this kind a knack of getting on in public estimation, but Mr. Hobhouse partook of the nature of the crab—all his efforts were only destined to moving backwards. He recollected the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, when Mr. Hobhouse was first nominated. That Gentleman then said, that on the hustings he would be ready and willing to answer any interrogatories that may be put to him. No sooner, however, had he arrived at the hustings, than to question was to torture him. He agreed with Mr. Hobhouse, that to question was indeed to torture him; for when a man was not sincere in his views, it must be a torture to him to have his intentions scrutinized. If Mr. Hobhouse, therefore, did not repose upon a bed of roses, it was easy for him, with the aid of his great patron, to shift himself into a more agreeable place, by obtaining leave to withdraw his pretensions on the present occasion. If he had said at the

that it was a secondary matter whether Parliaments were twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four months; that it was a third-rate matter to fix the extent of the right of suffrage: if he had made this avowal in the outset, he would have been rejected, as he deserved, by the Electors. He begged permission to say a few words of a nature personal to himself. It seemed the Hon. Baronet had plumed himself on the great sacrifice he had made in going to prison, as it were to save him. There was an old saying, "save me from my friends, and I'll defend myself from my enemies." The Hon. Baronet had one peculiarity, that he injured whatever cause he took up—more mischief than good always resulted from his activity. And with respect to the effort to get him out of prison, all he had to say was, that he had been kept in for months, though he was confident he would not have been in three days, were it not for the rash, contemptible, and puerile attempt which the Baronet made at the period alluded to. In the very attempt to impose Mr. Hobhouse upon the Electors, there was a proof of the mischief which attended all the Hon. Baronet's acts.—(*Applause and disapprobation.*) He had not the benefit of written speeches, like Mr. Hobhouse; he was obliged to collect at the moment his own ideas. He would just ask whether the speeches he delivered were penned by Sir Francis Burdett, or himself? He should like that one of the crowd would get silyly behind Mr. Hobhouse some day, and slip out the speech and substitute another in its place. The fact was, the Gentleman was a mere hollow drum for the Baronet to beat upon to any time. But as to the Baronet himself, had the people of Westminster reason to be satisfied with the great Goliath?—was it to his merit or efficiency, that he never could command any attention in the House of Commons?—was it to his credit, that with greater advantages than any other man, with a princely income, with numerous dependants, with unrivalled popularity, with all the talents which his friends could muster up for him, for he had none of his own—(*Laughter and applause.*)—he had never effected one substantial benefit for his insulted and injured country? If the great giant was so impotent, what was to be expected from the little dwarf? If the chuckling of the old hen could not scare away the vulture from the prey, what could be expected from the unfledged chicken? Was Westminster so degraded that it was doomed to take the Baronet's nominee, a nominee too whose first effort was to insult a respectable tradesman, because he was an auctioneer? the latter ought to have *knocked him down* for his presumption.—(*Loud laughter.*) The editor of the Morning Chronicle said he would not be surprised if Ministers themselves now turned Reformers, to save their places. He would beg leave to ask Mr. Hobhouse how he was to qualify his plan of suffrage? Was he to shut out from it the great mass of persons

now before him? Let him give a plain answer, for he had at present so wrapped his principles in words, that they were quite unintelligible. He looked like a goodly tree overloaded with leaves, but possessing neither blossoms nor fruit. Like another political Quixote, he took out his written speeches, just as a pedlar did his ware from his bag, and then he sent them forth. They presented a strange medley of scraps and patches, culled from Grub-street and St. Giles's—sometimes from France, sometimes from Ireland, and any where else that might give room for a display. The Hon. Baronet, if he could not make a better exhibition than this, had better withdraw from the scene altogether. If he had not a finer mantle to cover his *protégé*, he had better exhibit him at once in his nakedness. This was not the time when the electors should support equivocal characters. The great principle of Reform was rolling onwards like a massive mountain, and those who attempted to impede its advance, would be crushed under its weight. The Hon. Baronet had successively discarded or neglected every man who had placed a trust in him; and Mr. Hobhouse would be, in all probability, destined to be his victim at last.

When Mr. Jones had concluded, Mr. Hunt came forward. In recording the speech ascribed to him, it is necessary, in justice both to the character of Sir Francis Burdett, and to that of the people who heard it, to premise, that every sentence was received by the most tremendous hisses and shouts of indignation—with "*you liar—you scoundrel—off, off!—down, down!—coward—cheat—villain.*" A horsewhip was also shaken before him, and now and then a handful of mud thrown at him.

Mr. HUNT began by stating, that he meant to be short and sweet. He had yesterday put two or three questions to Sir Francis Burdett, to neither of which did he choose to give an answer, and for the very best reason, because he could not answer without telling that which was untrue. He had yesterday listened for three quarters of an hour to Westminster's Pride and England's Hope—he could hardly remain silent when he heard him with effrontery declare, that in the course of his life he had never deserted either a public or a private friend. Did the Baronet remember the Hon. Mr. Bligh, who lent him 30,000*l.* twenty years ago; was Mr. Bligh now his friend or not? Was he now the friend of Mr. Gawler, who was his second when he went out to shoot at poor Paul? Did he not also desert that brave and unfortunate man? Did he not desert Col. Wardle? The Colonel said himself, that it was the treachery and abandonment of Sir F. Burdett which compelled him to fly his country. Did not they remember Mr. Jennings, who stood on the hustings 15 days for the Baronet? He had abandoned him, and never rendered him any service. Who had been the Baronet's

friends for the last seven years? Major Cartwright, Mr. Cobbett, and himself (Mr. Hunt). He had deserted the Major—he had deserted Mr. Cobbett—and he (Mr. Hunt) had not waited for his turn, but he had in scorn discarded the Honorable Baronet. They all recollected the story of Blue Beard, and how he got rid of his wives.—(*This allusion seemed to tickle the fancy of the crowd, and some coarse allusions were made to the orator.*)—Sir Francis Burdett was a political Blue Beard—he had killed-off in succession all his political friends, and if Mr. Hobhouse ever became an honest man, he would be killed-off in his turn also.

It being six o'clock when Mr. Hunt ceased, the crowd began immediately to disperse, after giving several cheers.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18.—FOURTH DAY.

At the close of the poll this day, at four o'clock, the numbers were:—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Hon. G. Lamb	592	1,207
J. C. Hobhouse, Esq.	204	826
Major Cartwright	3	32

The British Press, a paper, which, though inclined to the Whig Candidate was, on the whole, fair in the account which it gave of the proceedings in Covent Garden, in noticing this state of the poll, mentioned the notorious fact, that Lady Caroline Lamb, and a number of ladies of rank, had been canvassing for Mr. Lamb. In fact, her ladyship's activity did honour to the cause in which she was engaged. She was seen galloping over all parts of Westminster, and where her horse could not go, she walked, leaving few lanes or alleys unexplored. The butchers in Clare-Market had a visit from her. By her interference, nearly forty Electors, living in and near the courts and alleys of Shepherd's Market, who had voted for Sir Francis Burdett at the last Election, were now persuaded, that Mr. Hobhouse had abandoned his principles, and that Mr. Lamb was the *liberty candidate*: an argument which, strengthened by a breakfast, and other stimulants, brought them to the poll.

It was usual also when it suited their purposes, for the friends of Mr. Lamb to state, that he and Mr. Hobhouse were of the same principles; and, that it was as well to vote for the one as for the other. In the way of canvassing for Mr. Hobhouse, what was done, was done by the tradesmen Electors amongst themselves.

At four o'clock Mr. Hobhouse made his appearance on the

hustings, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett. They were loudly cheered. Mr. Lamb also appeared, accompanied by his usual friends—they were also received with loud marks of approbation on the hustings. When the final state of the poll was declared,

Mr. HOBHOUSE came forward, amid great applause, and addressed the Electors as follows:—

Gentlemen,—You see that the Whigs and Tories have been too much this day for the independent Electors of Westminster; it is possible it may be equally so to-morrow; but I have a most perfect confidence in the result of the contest. You know that in general the voters of my opponent are pressed men (I do not say all, but certainly some of them), and can be brought up at any time. I don't know whether Lord Castlereagh has voted yet or not—*(Laughter)* but as there has been very little to do for the last two or three days in the House of Commons, it is possible he might have come, for I know the benches of the House were thinned, to fill up the hustings. Last evening, I understand, not only were the regular heavy artillery of the hustings brought to bear upon me, but certain light pieces from the country, and as I see by the Papers, the firing was kept up till a late hour. There were, indeed, several new performers who made a first appearance. We had those who belonged to the regular London stage, besides several provincial performers. I wonder if the Staffordshire Baronet (Sir C. Wolsley) spoke last night. He said, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern a week ago, that he only meant to deliver three sentences. When he said this, I was afraid at the time, that, like Friar Bacon's Brazen-head, after making the triple effort, he would have fallen to pieces. The Staffordshire Baronet came to the hustings since, and attacked Sir Francis Burdett; now, he had better have opened his attack upon me, for I am fair game. Another worthy Western Gentleman (Mr. Northmore), who, like Bob Acres, shines, as I understand, as a very great man at home—this Gentleman was pleased to say, that Sir Francis Burdett was a mushroom. Why, if I understand the meaning of a mushroom, it is a thing which springs up soon, now, I must say, that Sir Francis Burdett is the oldest mushroom I ever saw; for he is a mushroom of twenty years growth. I am, according to the same worthy Gentleman, a mushroom—brought up under the wing of the other mushroom. We must not quarrel with country Gentlemen who live a great distance from town about their metaphors, but this is the first time I ever heard of a mushroom with wings. I admit that I am fair game for the attacks of these Gentlemen; but I caution them how they transfer their attacks to others, for, though come to town in the height of the winter season to crack their jests, yet they might by carrying them too far, that is, by carry-

ing them against others besides myself, run some awkward risks—they might thereby perhaps run the risk of the loss of fame, or limb, or other injury. Let them attack me, but let them not assail with calumny the man of twenty-three years' fame. Let them confine their pleasantry to me, for I can appreciate it. But should Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Northmore give the public reason to suspect that they have undertaken this winter journey to assist in the honorable attempt to pull down a great public character, it is possible that some unfortunate mistake may be made as to the purity of their motives, and their exit may not be quite so satisfactory as their entrance upon this new stage. I am, like Mr. Lawson before he entered the House, ready, by anticipation, to contribute to the meriment of the scene. Mr. Lamb complained yesterday that I had no wit—I admit I have none—we all are as we are made; every man is not endowed with such faculties as Mr. Lamb.—(*Laughter and Applause.*)—I wish I was as witty, but I may improve in so good a school; I'll try if I can, and take a leaf out of his book, and before the end of fourteen days, perhaps I might hope to be just able to say something which might amuse you.—(*Laughter.*)—I yesterday, you well recollect, questioned Mr. Lamb on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. He delivered his own sentiments frankly and fairly, but when I asked him for a pledge that the Whigs of 1819 would act on the same principle laid down by their leader in 1798—when I put this branch of my question, the Whigs around Mr. Lamb gave a loud laugh. Indeed, I ought to have asked pardon for my simplicity, for I ought to have known the reception my question would have met. Formerly the Whigs laughed after they broke a promise, now they laugh before they make one. It seems that Mr. Lamb cannot undertake to say that his party intend to make even a moderate Reform; the basis of their projected administration. He says, he will not pledge himself for others, nor be pinned to the head or tail of any party. No man, he declares, shall sign his certificate, and yet there was a signature attached to his certificate. His certificate was signed, James Macdonald, chairman. The gentleman who proposed him, spoke only of Sir Samuel Romilly. The placards desire you to vote for Mr. Lamb, on Romilly's principles. This looks like a certificate—Mr. Lamb declared himself a Whig. This looks like being pinned either to the head or tail of a party. I thought it my duty to ask Mr. Lamb what he could say for his party. I thought myself entitled to put the question, as I knew him to be the organ of a party. I knew the Whigs sent him here to fight their battle, and I felt that I had the same right to put the question that he and his friends had to laugh at it. They who were with Mr. Lamb have

thrown curious doubts upon, and shewn their extreme knowledge of Parliamentary Reform, for both they and he said that scot and lot householders ought to vote, that such was the case in Westminster, and that there the suffrage was almost universal, and the people were fairly in possession of their rights. This is singular knowledge—for the number of voters in Westminster is 14,000, and the number of inhabitants 168,000; so that according to Mr. Lamb's arithmetical computation, 14,000 are equal to 168,000.—(*Laughter.*)—My plan, he says, he does not understand—mine is not a plan, it is a principle. He has said, I was a more moderate Reformer than he. I have told you that I am not frightened at any plan of Reform. I have no objection to Sessional Parliaments, or to any other Reform, but I am not so bigotted to one opinion, as to say that Annual Parliaments furnish the only medicine which can save the state. The more he examines my principles, the more he will find them square with common sense, and the doctrines of the purest and wisest public writers. He says, he does not know the meaning of Radical Reform. This is very odd—for when Mr. Fox used it in the House of Commons, Mr. Perceval, in answer to a question which he put, obtained the meaning; for Mr. Fox answered, "that what he meant by a Radical Reform was a fundamental Reform." The friends of the people, at a meeting in 1794, where Mr. William Smith presided, described Radical Reform to be a measure which should move altogether, should act at once; and that the evil being fundamental, should at once be torn up by the roots, and cast away. I have seen a document, reported by Mr. Samuel Clark, a respectable Elector of St. James's, who will attest the truth of it—it is so curious a document, that I will read it as furnished by Mr. Clark, who is now at my elbow."

Mr. Hobhouse then read the following paper:

"At a Meeting of Mr. Lamb's friends, held at No. 14, Park-place, St. James's-street, on Wednesday Evening, Feb. 17, 1819; Earl Sefton in the chair; present, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Lamb, and about thirty others. Mr. Clark, an Elector of the Parish of St. James, asked—Would Mr. Lamb pledge himself to support such a Reform as should abolish the choosing of two Members for Bath, by thirty-two individuals; two for Old Sarum, by three or four individuals; two for Gatton, by the same number; two for Buckingham, by twelve individuals; two for Banbury, by fourteen individuals; two for Launceston, by fourteen individuals; and in numerous other Boroughs in the same manner, by similar numbers, and transfer the Representation to large towns and populous counties? Mr. Lamb answered, he was a friend to Parliamentary Reform, to a larger extension of suffrage, and a shorter

duration of Parliaments. He was the friend of the late Sir Samuel Romilly, but *he had not studied the Constitution of the Borough System so accurately as the gentleman who put the question!*"

"After Mr. Lamb says he has not studied the constitution of the Borough System so accurately as the gentleman who addressed him, how can he be fit to be your advocate in the cause of Parliamentary Reform? It appears rather singular that he should never have studied this system, which it ought to be now his duty to expose. All I have to say is, that I hope you will not pay attention to this Whig Candidate, until you can ascertain positively that he understands the question in which you are most interested. Last night Mr. Lamb avowed, that he had not made up his mind on the subject. Let us now hear whether, in the course of the night, he became better informed upon the Borough System."

Mr. Hobhouse retired amidst the applauses of the people, which were changed into the most hideous shouts of disapprobation when Mr. Lamb presented himself. The Times Newspaper in reporting this speech, mentioned: that their reporter, though as close as any individual could be to Mr. Lamb, found it impossible to hear him distinctly, and the same paper noted the applauses as coming "*from the auditory round Mr. Lamb,*" and from the *immediate vicinity of Mr. Lamb*. The Morning Chronicle, however, had the courage to say, that Mr. Lamb was, *as was arranged*, assailed *from the compact body*, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Hobhouse, and was accompanied by loud applauses from those who heard the speech, and a continued yell from those stationed there to prevent its being heard. A correct record of the violent contest would not be given, if these assertions of the party paper were not introduced, to show the efforts made to convince those at a distance from the scene, that Mr. Lamb and the Whigs were the popular party in Westminster; and, that those who disliked Mr. Lamb and his coalesced friends, Messrs. Hunt and Jones, were only a few hired individuals. It is, indeed, much to be wished, that no interruption had been given to any speaker; but, when it is recollected, what an extraordinary coalition combined at the hustings, manifestly with the object of destroying the popularity of Sir Francis Burdett, it is not to be wondered at, that the people should be impatient at such an assault upon their own favorite, in the heart of the city which he had so long represented, and was then representing, and in the very scene of the great exertions made by him in the public cause. After premising thus much, Mr. Lamb's speech, as reported by the Chronicle, may be here given: though without the Reporter's comments, which were sent into the country, as the sentiments of the people, and, having served their turn, would be of no use here.

MR. LAMB.—He said his opponent had expressed himself con-

fident of success. He also felt *rather* confident, because he was 381 a head on the whole poll! But if he had been 500 behind he should still have felt confident, after his opponent's speech this day, and the elegant fellow he had produced before them. His opponent had said much of his liveliness; if he had any gratification from their not hearing him, it was because their expectations of being amused by him would not then be disappointed. His opponent, however, had taken his friendly hint of yesterday, and tried to infuse a little wit into his address; and indeed he thought Mr. Hobhouse came on very well at it. By the help of a few jokes borrowed from other candidates, a few extracts from publications, and a few new ones brought ready written down, he in time might almost gain the title of "Joe Miller" or "The Monstrous Droll Jester." Mr. Hobhouse's friends, too, had not been idle in the pursuit of wit; he saw a placard opposite to him, offering a thousand pounds reward to any one who should make his own plan of Reform intelligible, this is what was commonly known by the name of a "*Tu quoque*." However, Mr. Hobhouse himself had said, that if Mr. Lamb would pledge himself to bring forward this plan supported by his party, he (Mr. Hobhouse) would retire; surely Mr. Hobhouse would not offer this for a plan he did not understand. He therefore recommended the author of the placard to go to Mr. Hobhouse for the explanation, and he (Mr. Hobhouse) will have a right to pocket his friend's thousand pounds. He saw an Honorable Baronet on the hustings also, who, he understood, had come there because he had conceived himself to be called upon to do so by him (Mr. Lamb.) Very little of that Baronet's speech the other night had applied to himself, and he had not meant to call him there on his own account; but as the Baronet's speech had principally applied to the partizans of the third Candidate, he had thought it but fair that he should hear their remarks in reply. However, as he was there, he would make a remark or two on his speech of Tuesday, and he wished they would permit the Baronet to hear him. The Baronet had said, as the Newspapers reported, that he (Mr. Lamb) had come before them disguised. He had thought this would have been the last imputation thrown upon him; but whatever garb he wore, he must say, he thanked God that he was not reduced so low as to appear before the Electors in the Honorable Baronet's livery—What objection to him, on the score of Parliamentary Reform, could be stated with effect by those who could not make themselves intelligible, who could not agree among themselves, nor even each agree with himself from one day to another? Mr. Hobhouse had first stated his plan to be "far short of Universal Suffrage." After four days spent in endeavouring to explain it, it now

turned out that he had no plan at all, and as far as he could understand his avowal to-day, he now again had no objection to Universal Suffrage to the fullest extent. He had also produced an exquisite personage before them; who had last night attended a Meeting called his friends. He was glad he had appeared to-day, because at least it would shew that he was disgraced by no such cronies. "I call on Mr. Samuel Clark to stand forward and shew himself publicly." (Mr. Lamb repeated the call several times; at last Mr. Samuel Clark came forward.) This Gentleman, he understood, had long before this been in the habit of torturing WIGS, for he understood he was a barber. He had attended the Meeting last night in hopes that he, on the subject of Reform, might be able to shave him close; he went through a long list of the names of boroughs, and the numbers of their Electors, before he put the question to Mr. Lamb, stating himself to be a *decided enemy to Universal Suffrage and violent altercations*, and that he particularly disapproved of getting drunk at Elections. He (Mr. Lamb) suspected him at the time. He thought there was something of the *Oliver* cut about him; however, he had answered him as he had always answered before, that he was a friend to a more equal representation, and a shorter duration of Parliaments: but that he was not quite prepared to enter into the details of the Rights of Election in all the Boroughs the Barber had enumerated. He had brought this Samuel Clark forward that he might know him well himself, and that every body else might know this Oliver of his opponent's party, and especially to recommend none of them to trust their throats near his razor. It had also been said that he received Government support; if he had, it could not be in hopes of any return of support from him; he had distinctly avowed his principles as a Member of the Whig party, and he should not be found among the supporters of Government. There was nothing else that he recollected that he was at present called upon to answer. His opponent had complained of the mean artifices used by his partizans. He, however, did not complain of those used against him; he despised and defied them, and he invited a continuation of all the machinations that could be devised between Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Samuel Clark. It was probable that the Hon. Baronet meant to address them; he did not know that it was so, but if he did he hoped they would give him a patient hearing.

Notwithstanding the proviso with which this report has been introduced, it will be serviceable to the interests of truth just to mention, that Mr. Lamb was not guilty of the pleasantry of asking a patient hearing for Sir Francis Burdett. His words were, as reported in the British Press, "a patient hearing for all who were

inclined to address them." But the object of the Chronicle was to give out that Sir F. Burdett had need of help from Mr. Lamb in order to obtain a hearing.

When Mr. Lamb had ceased, Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse retired. Mr. Samuel Clark then came to the bar and said, "Mr. Lamb, I challenge you to deny the truth of what I have stated." This appeal occasioned a considerable uproar; *bravos!* from the People and laughter within the hustings. Mr. Lamb did not reply, but Mr. Hunt came forward. His popularity was by no means increased. The thousands assembled both in front and in the booths opposite, hissed and booed; and from the extreme confusion prevalent, it was exceedingly difficult for the reporters to give any thing like a fair account of the proceedings of this day. The account nearest to fact was given in the British Press, and is here followed verbatim. Those who think it worth while may compare it with the string of falsities, and the colour given to the facts in the Chronicle. Mr. HUNT alluding to the hisses, said—

There was no use in all this—it was quite vain and useless—for he had taken a hearty lunch, and could wait for a late dinner. He came there to expose the giant, the political apostate, Sir Francis Burdett—(a voice in the crowd said, "*Where's the use in your attacking Sir Francis Burdett, he is gone away?*")—"Is he," resumed Mr. Hunt, "I did not think he'd stand to hear his character described,"—A considerable uproar being excited at this moment, Mr. Hunt said, that if they would but just hear him for a moment, it might be five guineas in some of their pockets. For he would read them a hand-bill he had just got:—

"LOST—Last night, between St. James's-place and Mr. Brooks's, in the Strand, a check, drawn by Sir Francis Burdett on Messrs. Coutts and Co. Bankers, for 10,000*l.* The check was drawn as follows:—

"Pay Samuel Brooks, or order, the sum of 10,000*l.*, which charge to my account.

"F. BURDETT.

"N. B. No further reward will be given, as payment is stopped at the Bank, and another check is issued in its place, and payment received, to uphold the purity of Election in Westminster."—*(Laughter and applause.)*

They had heard, said Mr. Hunt, a great deal about the Whig Candidate having the Court influence, but who would they imagine came to the hustings to-day to vote for Mr. Hobhouse—they would be astonished to hear—no less a personage than Sir Christopher Hawkins, one of the greatest borough proprietors in the kingdom—he owned five of the Cornish boroughs, and actually returned ten

Members to Parliament. Had this Mr. Hobhouse then, who had such a voter, any right to complain of the voters who may flock to his opponent?

At this moment the attention of the crowd was divided by the appearance of another orator from the railing in front of the hustings, who said he was a friend of Mr. Hobhouse, but whether by accident or design, the words had hardly escaped his lips, when he fell, or was pulled from the place on which he stood.

There he goes, resumed Mr. HUNT; he is an example of Mr. Hobhouse's case; he shews you that it is in a falling state.—*(Laughter and applause.)*

At this moment a stick was thrown from among the crowd, which struck Mr. Hunt on the breast.

Mr. HUNT bowed to the quarter from which it came, and said, "I thank you; but I am too old a soldier to be killed with one shot."

The circumstance of the stick being thrown created a tumult, and a number of persons called out to have the individual seized who had made the assault.

Mr. HUNT pointed at the individual, and said he was convinced he was the man who threw the stick.

The designation of the particular person was hardly given, when (to the credit of the multitude present it should be recorded) he was immediately and very roughly seized, and handed over by the persons who were near him to the constables at the outer railing before the hustings. So great was the anxiety to secure the person of the individual who was represented as having thrown the stick, that Mr. Lee, the high constable, seeing the peril he was likely to be in from rough usage, ordered the constables to take care he should not be hurt in getting him over the railing. He seemed to be an idle looking fellow, who had thrust himself into the crowd for the want of any other employment of his time, and who seemed more frightened at the scrape he had got into, than it was likely he would have been had he gone prepared for mischief, and made up his mind to abide the result.

Mr. HUNT said, that the fellow belonged to Sir Francis Burdett. The fellow himself, probably with a view of getting some assistance, to place him in a more comfortable birth than he had, said he was a friend to Mr. Hobhouse. But this stratagem did not avail him, for the crowd, with a propriety which did them infinite credit, left him just where he was, in the custody of the constables, to be disposed of as he deserved. He was afterwards, however, turned out, we believe, by the constables, on expressing contrition for his act, and in the absence of the necessary evidence, to warrant any further proceedings against him.

Mr. HUNT, as soon as the uproar of taking this man into custody had subsided, continued to address the Meeting, and to entreat that they would also hear his friend, Mr. Gale Jones, who had stood by him during the whole of the last election, and was equally with him at his post in this. It was said that he and his friends had coalesced with the Whigs—they had done no such thing. But Mr. Lamb had fairly and candidly declared, that he was the advocate of an extension of suffrage to householders, and this was going full as far as Sir Francis Burdett had ever gone. This was going at least to something that was intelligible; whereas, nobody could understand what Mr. Hobhouse was at. After some remarks on Sir Francis Burdett's silence last night in the House of Commons, when the Poor Laws were under discussion, Mr. Hunt concluded, by stating, that Mr. Hobhouse would be put out in the present Election, and his patron, Sir Francis Burdett, in the next.

The same paper, the British Press, from which this is extracted, goes on to state—that Mr. Gale Jones now stepped forward, but the lateness of the hour, and incessant interruption, rendered it impossible to catch any thing but imperfect sentences for the remainder of the evening. The Reporter of the Chronicle, however, was more successful, and to him the reader is indebted for the following account of Mr. Jones's speech, as also of Mr. Hunt's and Mr. Peter Walker's, which none of the other papers deigned to notice.

Mr. GALE JONES began by stating, that the meeting would recollect that he had promised to pay his respects to the various candidates according to their seniority in point of nomination. He had yesterday endeavoured to shew them what the merits of Mr. Hobhouse were, and how he might be depended on. It was very unfortunate for some persons that they would not take the advice of friends, and it not unfrequently happened in the daily transactions of life, that those we were in the habit of branding with the name of enemies, were found to be our best and sincerest friends. Even from an enemy truth and useful instruction might be profitably derived, and he was an enemy to himself and his best interests, who would not avail himself of such instruction. Applying this observation to Mr. Hobhouse, it was impossible not to see that to his stubbornness and that of his party, might be easily traced the miserable appearance which their numbers this day exhibited. In his remarks on Sir Charles Wolseley, who had spoken recently from the hustings, Mr. Hobhouse had accused him of being able to utter only three sentences. Probably that might be true; but had the Baronet or Mr. Hobhouse been able to answer these three sentences? The contrary was the case, and shewed the paucity of talent possessed by the Guardian and his Ward. The name of Mr. Lamb had afforded

some amusement to the Baronet and Mr. Hobhouse, and several attempts at wit had been made on that name, especially as it also belonged to an innocent animal. Mr. Hobhouse would, therefore, not think it unfair to say, that he also might be a happy subject of amusement; for though the Rump had supposed that the Electors were to have Hobson's choice, "him or none," they had unfortunately damned the piece, and it was succeeded by the farce of "Hob in the Well." The humbled looks, the affected smile and dejected appearance of the party, shewed indeed that Hob was far sunk in the well, and that it would require more energy than that of Sir Francis Burdett to get him in the bucket and pull him up. He pardoned the irritation which Mr. Hobhouse felt, he pitied him on account of the deplorable situation he was placed in, and would excuse the want of temper evinced by the Rump, because their cause was now gone. He would ask them, he would ask any unbiassed and unprejudiced man—who were the friends of riot and disorder? To whom were they to impute any tendency to riot, but to the drunken and disordered friends of Mr. Hobhouse? whose minds were distracted by the overwhelming opposition they had been obliged to encounter. It was the earnest wish and the sole design of these persons to create a confusion, and to put down others by a clamorous noise. That wish, however, was vain—that design had been rendered abortive. True, they had partially interrupted Mr. Lamb, but why was this done? Was the Baronet and his Rump afraid to hear Mr. Lamb? Did they judge him incapable of being answered, and did they hope by clamour to prevent him from being heard? Such was the only rational conclusion which could be deduced from their conduct, and such was a specimen of the candour which these friends of liberality and freedom of speech possessed, and to which they laid such mighty claims. The Baronet now saw that Westminster was not to be put down by dictation, and that she would assert her rights even in the teeth of the Honorable Baronet. The day of popularity was gone by, as far as the Baronet was concerned, and he now saw himself deserted, and even hooted by those whom he had described as his dearest friends. Such being Mr. Hobhouse, and such his protector and friend, he would leave them now to the judgment of the Electors, and what that judgment would be was now self-evident, from the appearance of the poll. "The glory had, indeed, departed, and hope was buried in the dust." With respect to Mr. Lamb, he begged to trouble them with a few words. Differing, as he had uniformly done, from the Whigs, he felt himself bound to state his high delight at the glorious state in which Mr. Lamb now stood on the poll. The Baronet and his protégé could not find any argument against Mr. Lamb, which could be of use to them, and they therefore employed scurrilous

language, and discharged a volley of abuse against the Whig party. What connexion attacks on that party had to do with the question, it was for them to say, and it only served to shew the nakedness of their cause. Among other things, it was said that Mr. Lamb was a candidate supported by both parties. He (Mr. Jones) was not surprised at this, when he considered how admirably adapted the amiable manners, the gentlemanly conduct, the liberal enlightened principles, and the excellent good humour of that Gentleman were, to conciliate all parties, and win the affections of all who knew him. He unquestionably would prefer Mr. Lamb by far to Mr. Hobhouse, because the principles of the former were intelligible to all, while those of the latter were understood by none; aye, not even by himself. Mr. Lamb had told them that he came before them as a stranger, and they, like honest Englishmen, had received and treated him kindly. As to the creed of Mr. Hobhouse, it was understood by none, for it shewed the individual to be possessed of no principle. It had long been justly observed, and indeed the observation was not more logical than true, that he could not be considered as a man of principle who had no fixed plan to go by. Such was the case with Mr. Hobhouse, whose ideas were a labyrinth accessible to none. He trusted the friends of the Baronet would recover their good humour, and permit themselves to hear plain truths for once at least in their lives. Really it was unmanly, it was cowardly, it was ungenerous, to be ill natured, because one lost a cause. At present he would not say more, as he would have another opportunity of addressing them before the election was over.

Mr. HUNT. Gentlemen, I have only a word to say, which I am sure will not displease you. I have just this moment been told that if Mr. Lamb succeeds in his election, as I am certain he will, Sir Francis Burdett *will accept the office of Steward to the Chiltern Hundreds*. He snapt his fingers at you the other day; but now you can snap your fingers at him. Let us give three cheers for the state of the poll. So much for the fall of the Rump. I wish you good night.

Mr. PETER WALKER, in coming forward as a friend of Major Cartwright, observed, that he would not have offered himself at that late hour, had it not been that he had not had an opportunity of addressing them earlier during the whole Election. He had now presented himself to their notice as the same unaltered individual, attached to the principles of that inflexible and honest patriot, Major Cartwright; a man not more esteemed for his consistent uniform conduct, than beloved and venerated as the father and friend of Reform, but whose only fault in the eyes of the Rump was his increased years; and who was thereby judged unfit to sit in the House of Commons, though no man knew more than he did relative to the

British Constitution. It had been said by the supporters of the Baronet and his hopeful nominee, that there was a coalition between the friends of Mr. Lamb and the friends of the Major; but he could state in the most decided terms, that such was not the case. The friends of the Major had not canvassed one single person in favour of Mr. Lamb, nor one in favour of the Major himself. He had the strongest reasons for preferring Mr. Lamb, because, with all due respect for the Baronet, he would not sacrifice his own opinions to serve any person whom the Baronet or the Committee might nominate; for the person who had been brought forward was supported by tricks and by delusion. Though the Committee was 300 strong, they would find the people stronger. Much had been said relative to the Whigs, and much abuse had been thrown on them as a corrupt body. In reply he would say, that that body had not done the mischief to the cause of liberty which the other side had. They had not contributed to send English gold out of the country, and substitute a miserable paper currency—they had not brought the debt on the nation, or the Gagging Bill and the Suspension Act, He disliked the Oligarchy which wished to rule over Westminster, and was glad they were now unmasked. After a few other observations, he concluded.

Mr. Walker concluded about six o'clock, and nearly the last attendant at the bustings had by that time disappeared.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19.—FIFTH DAY.

THE large majority in which all kinds of exertions used for Mr. Lamb had placed him upon the poll of yesterday, seemed completely to have taken away whatever small inclination there might still remain amongst the people not to pronounce their opinion in behalf of Mr. Hobhouse, to the total exclusion of all possible sentiments towards Mr. Lamb. It was a very wet morning, but as the afternoon advanced, the crowd became greater than in any former day; and those who voted for Mr. Lamb were hissed, whilst the supporters of the contrary side were loudly applauded. For the purpose already mentioned of recording the "*Spirit of the Journals*," the account of the Chronicle of the close of this day's poll, shall be first given. It is as follows:

" At the close of the poll the numbers were

	Polled this Day.	Gross Poll.
" Honorable G. Lamb	335	1542
" Mr. Hobhouse	190	1016
" Major Cartwright	4	36

“The poll was announced amidst the cheers of the people, and the cries of *No RUMP, No RUMP*, re-echoed through the hustings.”
 “—Compare this with the following account given in the *Times*.*
 “At a quarter before four, Mr. Hobhouse came to the hustings, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, and was greeted by the loudest acclamations of applause. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Lamb made his appearance, and was welcomed in a very different manner from his opponent. He was hissed and hooted to such a degree as none can conceive who did not witness the fact. When the numbers were declared to be, &c. the hissing, if possible, increased, though it immediately subsided and turned into applause when Mr. Hobhouse came forward to address the Electors.”

The reader having seen this contrast of the picture with the fact, and remembering the specimens before given, will perhaps be able to account for Sir F. Burdett's comment on the daily press introduced into his speech of this day. The truth is, that the *Chronicle* Reporter purposely falsified the transactions of every day, whilst the Reporters of the other papers, generally speaking, being placed within the hustings' rail, inadvertently often put down the comments made by the gentlemen with and about Mr. Lamb, for the express sentiments of the people.

MR. HOBHOUSE spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen,—The Coalition is not so successful to day as it was yesterday. They were about 400 a head upon yesterday's poll, and they are only, as I am informed, 145 a head upon this day's poll. (*Applause*.) Perhaps I can account for it.

Yesterday—their RETAINERS were fed, they had what they called A PUBLIC BREAKFAST near Devonshire House, and another at the Hummums; the poll was swelled by those Electors, who, having lost their independence, were thus dragged to the hustings, and this accounts for their success: to day they could find none mean enough, and none dependent enough, to be fed by them, and this accounts for their deficiency. In a small town, this would be called treating—I know not why it is not considered so here. Whatever it is called, it is very mean, it is very shabby, it is very Whiggish. (*Loud laughter*.) Are you to be treated out of your votes? (*Cries of, We never shall*.) Will you be so deluded? (*No, never*.)

The Whig and Tory Coalition, however, remains just as it did; and both are acting together against you. Recourse has again been had to the old corrupt practices, which too long disgraced your city. A nobleman went about canvassing this day with the steward of another nobleman under his arm. I need not say this was to intimidate the tenants to vote for the Whig candidate.

* Saturday, Feb. 20.

You have heard of the influence of a *Junta*—By whom are they so called? By your enemies! Of what does it consist? Of Committees appointed by yourselves! Committees of tradesmen. Did these respectable tradesmen ever attempt to bribe you with a breakfast? (*No, never.*) Did they ever procure noblemen's stewards to intimidate their tenants to vote? Did they ever canvass with their intimidating letters, to make them vote one way when they thought another.—But the Whigs say, if they have Government support, they cannot help it: No—nor could they help it if the Tories gave them a place. (*Applause and laughter.*)

The Whig Candidate has called me a second Joe Miller. (*A laugh.*) It is very odd that I cannot please the Whigs, do what I will: the other day he called upon me to enliven my speeches with a little humour, and when I attempt to follow his recommendation, he says I am too jocose. I cannot please him at all. You heard him sneer in the words of a song at "the spruce Mr. Clarke." Now Mr. Lamb is one of the wits of the party. If this is the extent of the wit of the party, I am sorry for it—It wont do—I must go to another school. (*Laughter.*)

But let us look at his principles.—He told you, they were those of Sir S. Romilly. He next says, that his principles are his own, and that he will not have them countersigned by any man. Then he talked to you of the principles of the Glorious Revolution, and said that he cherished those principles. The Tories said the same! The Whigs proposed Catholic emancipation. The Tories opposed it, because they revered the principles of the Revolution!! and they forsooth rallied round the Constitution!! So say the Whigs!—They too rally round the Constitution! And they oppose the People! This is all WHIG delusion: pure and naked WHIGGISM.

But this declaration of Mr. Lamb's, not being attractive, he made another, and became suddenly the Friend of Reform—the Friend of Reform! When the plain honest intelligent Citizen (Mr. Clarke) went to put a plain question to him on the Borough-mongering system, he avowed his utter ignorance of this system; and now he calls him 'a SPY.' (*Shame, shame.*) He calls an Elector of Westminster, who goes to put a plain question to a Candidate at a public meeting of his parish, 'A SPY.'—But this witty Gentleman has since found out that this honest Elector was a BARBER! and his wit could take no higher flight than to ridicule this worthy man's calling. Does he think of obtaining his Election by ridiculing the occupations of his Constituents? But this honest BARBER, in proving that he was better informed than this learned LAWYER, has done good service to the State. He has made

manifest the ignorance of your would-be Representative ;—and for this he is to be called A SPY !

Let me put this question of Reform to the Whigs distinctly.

They say—I would limit your right of suffrage.

I say—I would extend it.

They say—I would not have all Housekeepers vote.

I say—I would not stop at Housekeepers.—Will they go as far as that?—ASK them, Gentlemen.

They say—I am not for Annual Parliaments.

I say, I am.—Will they go as far as that?—ASK them, Gentlemen.

Will they give you any Reform that will destroy Corruption?—Will they?—ASK them, Gentlemen.

Will they consent to cut up the Borough system altogether?—Will they destroy the prepondering influence of Aristocratical families in the Elections of the people?—But these are questions of *too delicate* a nature to be put to a man who has lived all these years, and yet remains ignorant of the Borough system :—A learned lawyer too ! One might have thought his very briefs would have taught him better.

The delusion of Reform being to be had from Whigs or Whiggism is about to be dissipated. It is for you to shew that you will not be robbed of your rights by the united factions.

Mr. Hobhouse withdrew from the front amidst the loudest applauses. Mr. LAMB then came forward. The hissing and hooting was almost universal. The encouragement of a few placed near him in the hustings, and in the opposite booths, was drowned in the clamours of the multitude. He continued straining till he was very red in the face, and in an evident passion. The Chronicle called this spontaneous disapprobation of the thousands assembled, "*the organized interruption of the Rump yellers,*" and reported the speech thus :—

He asked if it was the pleasure of his opponent's allies to hear him ? As he was much exhausted he would retire, unless they should be inclined to permit him to address them. The state of the poll was, however, the unanswerable argument. Starting as he did from the post, he had now a majority of 526 votes above his opponent on the whole poll. The poll had certainly not proceeded that day with the activity of the day before. That was to be attributed, however, to the wetness of the morning, and perhaps to the over-sanguine expectations of his numerous friends, many of whom thought their exertions were not wanted. He begged them, however, not to allow such a feeling to influence them ; for with the fairest prospects of success, he assured them they would have a tough

battle to fight. He felt that nothing he could say could obtain from the affected friends of freedom a patient hearing. He, however, assured his friends, that the time was not far distant when even those who interrupted him would be most forward to attend. His opponent had that day said that he could never please him (Mr. Lamb). He assured that Honorable Gentleman he was wholly mistaken. He had pleased him much; and every speech he uttered he pleased him more. His worthy opponent talked of Whigs, as being a body little better than the Tories. With that designation he was satisfied—on that character he stood. He (Mr. Lamb) could take credit for appearing in no disguise. He told them unequivocally his principles. But his opponent found fault with him because some of the Electors attended a public breakfast. Why, at all events, if it were so, there was more solid satisfaction in that, than in the effort to catch a few straggling Voters by bands of music and gaudy array of colours. But then came the charge of Noblemen intimidating the Electors. Did his opponent think that such random insinuations could have any effect on any intelligent men? Was he prepared to say, and to that conclusion his statement went, that the independent and enlightened Electors of that great City were to be intimidated by any set of men; be their rank or influence what they may? The allies of his opponent, he perceived, renewed their interruption. They have the advantage of the ground, and endeavoured to press down upon those who have the liberality to listen to every Candidate. One observation of his Honorable Opponent he was anxious to correct, and then he should conclude. He did not say that Mr. Hobhouse, in his flashes of wit, had already reached the excellence of Joe Miller. What he said was, but that he was likely to attain that eminence in a little time.

At each paragraph of this speech, which was more personally directed against Mr. Hobhouse, the people hissed and groaned more vehemently, and the last sentence prevented Mr. Lamb from being heard any more. He continued bowing and straining some time in front, and then retired. There were now loud cries for Sir Francis Burdett, but Mr. Hunt presented himself. The roaring—the execrations—the cries of "*Burdett, Burdett*,"—the threats of all kind from the whole mass of people, were incessant, but were unavailing. Mr. Hunt continued, encouraged by the Reporter of the Chronicle, towards whom he bent down whilst he was speaking, and enabled that paper to give the next day the following account of a speech heard by no other person present:—

He declared that he should be heard in preference to any one else, though he should stand there until midnight, for as he had already dined, he was in no hurry to get away. If they had the spirit of Englishmen they would hear him, and he would tell them

a little more about the Baronet, who happily had not that day run away. The Baronet boasted, it should seem, that by Monday or Tuesday he would bring up such a body of voters as would at once out-do the other side. How disappointed the Baronet should be on these days might be easily anticipated by his being forsaken by Mr. Sturch and Mr. Wishart, who had been most ardent and truly indefatigable members of the Rump.—These two Gentlemen, however, had seen through the designs of that body, and had very properly abandoned them. The Baronet was now fallen low. He had even fallen as low as ever Lucifer did. Once, indeed, he had stood on the pinnacle of high popularity, but, like "Hob in the well," he was now sunk deep enough. He hoped the Electors who were now present would for once have pity on the crest-fallen Baronet, and allow him to be heard. To look at him and his friends was sufficient to excite their compassion. He implored them to exercise, then, that compassion for once, and to hear the Baronet, for the more the Baronet spoke, the more he was sure to commit himself. A great deal had been said on the present Election about Whig and Tory, and the Baronet's nominee, Mr. Hobhouse, had declared there was a coalition between the two parties. Supposing that to be true, he would ask, what was Mr. Hobhouse? What line of policy did he follow? Was he between the two parties, or what was he? He (Mr. Hunt) firmly believed he was like the fool sitting down between two stools, by which he was sure to be thrown to the ground. He had a very short, but at the same time, a very interesting story to tell them. It was relative to the conduct of the Honorable Baronet, and was worth hearing. It related to the petition of Mr. John Hudson. It was, as he observed, his most ardent wish that they should hear how the Baronet acted before they took any advice from him. Mr. Hudson lived at 24, Long-acre, and at the last Election, gave a plumper to the Baronet. He received a 5*l.* note in his business, and tried to recover the value of it, by which he was involved in 54*l.* 16*s.* of expenses. He then applied by petition to the Honorable Baronet, and called soon after, when he was told there was no answer. He called a second time, and the same message was repeated, and the third time he called, he saw Old John the porter, who told him the Baronet gave him no answer. The petitioner went afterwards to Lord Castlereagh on the subject, and from his Lordship he at once received a speedy answer, as his Lordship told him he could do nothing for him. Such was unquestionably a strong contrast between the Baronet and the Noble Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. The Baronet had snapped his fingers the other day at the Electors, and in reply, he would ask, where was the Baronet last night, instead of being in the House of Commons to give his opinion and vote on the very im-

portant question then under discussion? Where was he when the Chimney Sweepers' Bill was before the House? Was the Baronet afraid to speak, or what was the cause? In a public room he had subscribed to the support of the Bill, but why was he not in the House of Commons to raise his voice in the cause of humanity? The cause was, that the Baronet was canvassing for his hopeful youth, and was engaged with the Rump. Old Mr. Brooks, of the Strand, had boasted they would bring up 1000 votes on Monday. This was a promise made by the Rump, and it would be seen how far it could be accomplished. He hoped they would all listen to the Baronet, because though he had abandoned him, because he, (the Baronet) had deserted the people, it was proper to give all a fair hearing. There was now no snow on the ground, and happily the Baronet could not avail himself of that pretext, as had been the case in former instances, to stay back from the meetings of the people. Let the Baronet go wherever he would, and call any meeting he chose, he (Mr. Hunt) would follow him from place to place, and from corner to corner. As the day was now far advanced, he would not occupy more of their time, especially as the Honorable Baronet was in the habit of making long, wordy speeches. He would only say, that amidst all the heat which Mr. Hobhouse had evinced, he had not been able to say one word about Sir Christopher Hawkins polling yesterday. Mr. Hobhouse had dwelt much on the circumstance of a Nobleman and a steward going about; but as to Sir Christopher Hawkins he had been totally silent, thereby proving he was as precious a humbug as his worthy nominee and patron, the once celebrated, but now fallen, Sir Francis Burdett. Let them now hear the Baronet for once, and see what he could say for himself, and from this exhibition they would learn what he was.

When Mr. Hunt had retreated, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was again loudly called for. His appearance was the signal for every demonstration of joy. The people waved their hats—those in the booths clapped, and waved their handkerchiefs. When silence was obtained, he addressed the meeting as follows :—

Gentlemen, Electors of Westminster, I cannot but congratulate you on the result of this day's poll, (*Applause*) and when we recollect that every artifice, every excitement, every influence, which the corruption of power and delusion of trick could bring into play against you—when we recollect that every means have been resorted to, to intimidate, to seduce, to sweep out all the scourgings of the public offices, and of all the other Government departments—when we recollect, as we must do, all this, and see no decline of our strength as compared with yesterday, but still see the spring of liberty fresh and clear, and the friends of independence ready and willing to come forward to reinstate Westminster in the proud state she was in

before this contest—when we see all this, we have, I say, reason to be gratified (*Loud applause*). We know we have no reason to despair, for our cause is the cause of the liberty of the country—a cause never to be despaired of by a patriotic mind (*Applause*). Experience tells us that the Electors of Westminster are not easily brought into action; it is not the work of a moment to get them forward. We know that they are staunch friends of liberty, and that the enthusiasm which that sacred principle imparts, is struck among them by collision, and by the appearance of men among them, whom they know to be opposed to the cause of freedom, and to their best interest. We all know that it takes more trouble to rouse a lion than to start a hare (*Applause*). The venal and corrupt press has told you, that when a lion was expected to be roused, nothing appeared but the braying of an ass. I tell you the lion of Westminster begins to rouse himself—(*Great applause*). The puny efforts of low aristocracy, the low and pitiful tricks of the possessors of Noble names, and of high rank and influence, who have degraded themselves by stooping on the present occasion to promote their views by miserable stratagem and artifice, and that unnatural coalition between the Court and the sham friends of the people on the spot, where previously the Ministerial Candidate, and the People, were alone opposed—add to this, that monstrous addition which they received by the advocacy of the last Speaker, have shocked and disgusted all good minds. (*Great applause*.) You see in this monstrous combination, art, malignity, wickedness, corruption, and power—all united to destroy the understandings of the People of Westminster; and, notwithstanding their united efforts, I promise you, that, after seeing them as they are, you will in the end see them overcome. (*Great applause*.) I am sorry that you did not give the proper attention to the persons who had previously addressed you, because the cause of truth must prevail when it is heard. I am sorry Mr. Lamb was not heard; first, because he may complain of the treatment you gave him; and, secondly, because it would be much better to have his observations heard, that they might, if it appeared necessary, be answered on the spot. He told you, that my friend, Mr. Hobhouse, was a great jester, and he himself proved that he would be the same, if his wit were willing, and if not willing when it ought, he would attempt it when he could. Notwithstanding what Mr. Lamb had said about Mr. Clarke, whom he discovered to be a Barber, and the sneer he made at this man's trade—as if, because of his being a Barber, the whole fraternity of Barbers must be his enemies—I must say that the punning upon Whig and Wig, did not throw aside the man's question. But putting away the *equivoque*, I think I may say, that the Barber shaved the Lamb's head very closely. (*Loud laughter*.) If this Lamb's head is often

presented before you, I should not wonder if the Barber in the end would cut off his ears. (*Laughter—a voice in the crowd, “be more serious, Sir Francis.”*) But to become more serious, as I am properly admonished to be, and if I have been betrayed on this occasion into the error of levity, I hope it will be attributed to Mr. Lamb, who set me the example. The great question before you, Gentlemen, is, not whether this man or that man shall be returned; it is not whether this Whig or that Tory is the better man. No, but whether the great principle of Radical Reform shall or shall not receive your support—that is the question.—(*Applause.*)—And I say, Mr. Lamb and the Whigs delude you when they talk of Reform, and avow themselves Reformers. Mr. Lamb comes here clothed in the disguise of Reform—he will not speak out, and declare his principles in the plain and intelligible manner in which Mr. Hobhouse does, and yet he talks of Reform and the Constitution, and all this at the time, when in answer to a plain question, he says, he does not understand the history of the rotten boroughs. I understand he said he had not studied the question so well as the Gentleman who put it to him——

Mr. LAMB—I never said that.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT observing that Mr. Lamb was anxious to explain, stopped to give him that opportunity.

Mr. LAMB said—I never said what has been imputed to me. I did say when the person enumerated a long list of boroughs, and described what he represented to be the particular state of each, that I was not so well versed as he seemed to be in such a mass of details; but I agreed with him in saying, that if the abuses he pointed out existed, they were great grievances, and ought to be removed. I have since found that the information given me by the person who put the questions respecting the boroughs he enumerated, was in many parts erroneous.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT resumed.—I told you just now, that it was more difficult to rouse a lion than to start a hare; but the gentle Lamb, it seems, has got angry at last, and has become a roaring lion.—(*Laughter and applause.*) I should be sorry not to take any man's words but as he says he uttered them, or interpret them differently from what he interprets them himself; but this I will say, that if Mr. Lamb never uttered the expressions attributed to him, let him now, for it is not an improper time, let him now speak out on the great and vital subject of Reform. (*Applause.*) Let him speak plainly and intelligibly to the people of Westminster, what are his sentiments upon the subject. (*Applause.*) It requires no time, nor labour, nor reflection, to ponder upon the hearings of the subject. Every body has heard of and read the Petition from the Friends of the People, in 1793—every body knows it was demon-

strated in that Petition, that 150 Borough Proprietors returned a majority in the Commons' House of Parliament. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) Does it require consideration, knowledge, or information, or any thing but the plainest understanding and ordinary integrity, for a man to say, whether this is, or is not an infamy which ought to be any longer endured? (*Applause.*) I beg, most pointedly, to impress upon your minds, the necessity there exists on the present occasion of openly exerting yourselves, and using every means in your power, to maintain not only your own independence, but to shew the coalition of Whigs and Government, that you are not such unprincipled dolts as to suffer yourselves to be held out as the spectacle you are represented to be in the daily venal press, as persons in whom no lasting confidence can be placed (*Cries of 'Shame!'*)—as persons whose support is not at any time of any importance, from its feebleness and uncertainty. Shew now by your acts, that you are not only attached to the great principle of Reform, but that you are sensible of the necessity of upholding that reputation you have gained, and preserving its example for the benefit of the People of England—that you are not those fickle, shallow, and uncertain beings you are so falsely represented to be. Whoever reads the public papers, will see how false the particular statements are which relate to the occurrences of this place. *The Morning Chronicle*, or rather, the *lying Chronicle*, for that is its proper name; that Paper which goes beyond all other papers in its falsehood and malignity, has published a hand-bill of a ludicrous kind, asserting that a triumphant chair was prepared for Mr. Hobhouse; now, this has no foundation whatever in point of fact—it is absolutely false from beginning to end, and yet *The Chronicle*, in a Note of the Editor's, asserts that the story was true, and founded upon a fact.* There is a hired party here,

* "SPLENDID TRIUMPHAL CAR.

"TO BE SOLD CHEAP—the Car which was prepared by the COMMITTEE of the RUMP to Chair Mr. HOBHOUSE in, on *Saturday last*, will now be sold a good Bargain to any *Sham unintelligible Reformer*, who may wish to try his hand upon the Credulity of the People of any Town or City, with the hollow pretence of PURITY OF ELECTION.

"For Particulars inquire * * * * *, in the *Strand*, where the CAR, with all its *Pegs and Wires, Springs and Levers*, with the whole machinery of its *Deception*, may be viewed.

"Also may be had, Fifty per Cent. under Prime Cost, *St. Pocomo's Breeches*, Inquire of F. PLACE, Tailor, *Charing Cross*.

"To be disposed of by Private Contract, all the curious *Books and Papers* belonging to the Rump, consisting of various Treatises upon the best Means of *de-luding the People*, and many hundreds of *Suppressed Letters* sent by the real Friends of Reform from every *Town and City in the United Kingdom*.

"For further particulars inquire by sealed Letter, of H. B., Secretary."

This placard had the merit of being founded on a fact; all the paraphernalia and the chairing of Mr. Hobhouse having been prepared by the late Committee, who drew up, what is now called, the No Chairing Report.—*Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 20, 1819.

it is said, to stifle Mr. Lamb's voice—now, from all that I have been able to hear, and I believe, I have heard every thing, this charge is utterly false, it is entirely destitute of a scintilla of truth.—But that which is here of the first, of the greatest importance, is, the security of the election. Bestir yourselves then, Electors, and shew your enemies that you are determined to maintain the reputation you have so honourably acquired; and notwithstanding the compassion of *The Courier* at my situation, as deserted by you, and notwithstanding the piety of *The Courier* (for it is a pious paper)—(*A laugh*)—which was shocked at my quotation from Ralph, the historian, that between these two thieves (the Whigs and Tories) the Constitution was crucified—notwithstanding all this, do you perform your duty. *The Courier*, indeed, in ignorance that my expression was a quotation from Ralph, became shocked at my invention of the image—they were shocked at my using it. Notwithstanding these deep expressions of piety and compassion from *The Courier*, I hope you'll prove yourselves, as you hitherto have done, to be the steady friends and champions of the principles of English liberty—(*Applause.*)—and that so long as I maintain those principles, which have made me the object of your choice, and which it has been the practice, I may say the business of my life to assert and enforce—that so long as I continue to maintain those great principles, and I trust I ever shall be found to maintain them, I shall have from you, the People of Westminster, the advantage of your countenance and steady support, and that the People of England will also have from you the benefit of your glorious example. (*Loud cheers.*)

The two candidates then retired. Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were saluted in their way to Fisher's Rooms with repeated huzzas. Mr. Gale Jones then made an effort to be heard; but the tumult was so great, and the disinclination towards this gentleman so decided, that not even the Reporter of the Chronicle pretended to have heard his speech. When he had withdrawn, Mr. Hunt retired from the hustings. The indignation of the people against this person was now so moved by his assaults on Sir F. Burdett, that they followed him towards his lodgings, hissing, hooting, laughing, and huzzaing in derision, till the orator seemed a little afraid, and made the best of his way into a hackney-coach.

If there had been before any doubt of the sentiments of the people of Westminster, the proceedings of this day decided the question. The assertion, that the popularity of Sir F. Burdett was on the decline, could now be made only to be laughed at. The public felt indignant at the extraordinary array produced against their long tried representative, and some shame appears to have reached even his opponents. Sir C. Wolseley and Mr. Northmore appeared no

more.* Perhaps they had taken Mr. Hobhouse's hint of the day before. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Gale Jones appeared with the manifest risk of some personal injury—it was impossible to obtain a hearing for Mr. Lamb—and especially as that gentleman chose to continue his personal attacks on the favorites of the public. Nothing can equal the indignation expressed all over Westminster at the conduct of *The Chronicle*, which is at this day known by the name by which it was baptized by Sir Francis. Several bonfires were lighted in the streets at night to burn the *lying Chronicle*. The same *auto da fé* was celebrated in many public houses. *The Morning Chronicle* of the next day did not dare to report Sir F. Burdett's words; but gave the public the two following articles, of which it may be said, that the truth and decency of the one can only be equalled by the infinite pleasantry of the other.†

* The latter Gentleman seems to have somewhat repented him of his services to the Whigs, and from the following letter which appeared in the *Chronicle*, on Monday, Feb. 22, it will be observed what aid the Reporter of the *Chronicle* gave to the enemies of Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

“ Sir,—I trust to your candour in allowing me to correct an inadvertent error in your report of my speech from the Hustings of Covent Garden on Wednesday last.

“ In alluding to the argument deduced (in prejudice of my friend Major Cartwright) from the necessity of unanimity during the expectation of a ministerial Candidate, I used the word *mushroom*, meaning short-lived, as applicable to that argument; nor did I see any reason why the citizens of Westminster might not be as united under the *Father of Reform* as under one of his youngest *children*. I then adverted to the only remaining argument brought forward against the ardent and indefatigable Major, viz. *that he was old*, and this argument I hoped would be equally futile. The word *mushroom* was not applied in any other sense; nor was the epithet *frothy* ever used by me at all. I am, Sir, your obedient,

“ THOMAS NORTHMORE.”

† “The expectation which we confidently entertained, that two or three days would demonstrate the effect of the canvas for Mr. Lamb, has been fully verified. The sound and enlightened judgment of the people of Westminster has already been pronounced on the knot of slanderers and levellers that have so long annoyed them—and the longer the poll is kept open, the decision of the right-minded will be more universal. For years it has been the practice of the Ramp to calumniate the brightest characters, and it is to this malignant expression of their spleen and fury, in the last instance, that they have to ascribe their downfall. Up to Tuesday se'nnight they had (to use a homely phrase) the ball at their foot; but in the confidence of their security, instead of reviling one another, which they might have done safely, they chose to utter opprobrious falsehoods on the most distinguished patriots of England. They have only themselves, therefore, to thank for the indignation and contempt they have excited.”

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

“ Sir,—Looking into a book of old Poems lent me, from the rare and invaluable collection of my liberal and excellent friend, Mr. H., I met with a distich, which I should have taken for the composition of some person of the present day, if I had not seen it in an old quarto pamphlet, ‘ printed for Michael Sparke, senior, at

"The opprobrious falsehoods on the most distinguished patriots of England," alluded to the Report of the Committee of Electors, with what justice the reader may refer to the Report to determine.

During this day, the friends of Reform in Westminster, seemed to have roused themselves from the torpor or confidence in which they had hitherto been sunk. In consequence of a desire expressed in all the parishes to see Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett; and by their presence to do away the impression of the calumnies propagated by the adverse parties, (for Messrs. Bowie and Walker now worked in the Whig Committee room), the Candidate and Sir Francis were present at parish meetings called on purpose to meet them, and the most lively assurances of final success were given to them and to all the canvassers for Mr. Hobhouse. After the speech of Mr. Hobhouse, and the adventure of Mr. Samuel Clarke, it could no longer be pretended that Mr. Lamb was the real Reform Candidate, and the posting bill "*Vote for George Lamb, the friend of shorter Parliaments and a more extensive suffrage,*" was not repeated, but gave way to other invitations, such as "*Vote for George Lamb, the poor man's friend.*" There is no doubt, however, but that many hundreds of the poorer Electors had voted under the notion that Mr. Hobhouse was not friendly to Reform, a delusion which the friends of Major Cartwright, few but active, helped the Whigs to propagate in every quarter. Nor will this appear surprising when it is recollected, that many of those whose names the people were accustomed to see in opposition to the ministry, were seen actively employed in behalf of Mr. Lamb. The Russells, all but Lord Tavistock and Lord William the younger, were exceedingly active. Mr. Lambton and General Fergusson, both of them favorites of the people, were incessantly employed for Mr. Lamb; Sir

the signe of the Blew Bible, in Greene Arbour, 1643.' It is one of a collection of prophecies, in the style of Nostradamus, and is published in the name of 'J. S. Gent.' The distich is as follows:—

" 'ALL PLACES NOT ALIKE.'

" 'Old Hobbe's place shall bring him good two thousand pounds a yeare,
But young Hobbe's place alace! shall cost him Westmonastere.

"I should be much obliged to any of your learned Correspondents who could inform me, whether there was any contest, or rumour of a contest, for Westminster about 1643; and if so, whether any of the Candidates was called Hobbe, Hobie, or Halbert. The name Hobbe is very antient in England, as we learn from Knyghton the historian, who informs us, that 'Jakke Canter, among other advice to his countrymen, counselled them to 'lokke that Hobbe robberyour be wele chastysed for lesing of your grace;' from which it may be reasonably inferred, that the said Hobbe had lost the grace or favour of his associates, by attempting to trick them or impose upon them. It is clear from some old expressions still current, that the Hobbes of those days had *sons* and *nails*; but it may be doubted whether they had a *house* to designate themselves from, till later times."

"CURIOSUS."

Godfrey Webster, the Representative of the Reformers in Sussex, was on the same side. Mr. Byng, of Middlesex, personally known to very many of the Electors, was a most powerful coadjutor. Whereas, on the other side, not a single individual of those who are usually ranged on the popular side in Parliament, ventured to come forward, and only *two* young gentlemen canvassed for Mr. Hobhouse. Sir Robert Wilson, who had owed his introduction to the Southwark Electors solely to the Westminster Reformers, and to Sir Francis Burdett—he did nothing. The city Reform Members would not help their fellow citizens who had sympathised in their triumphs at the late Election. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the tricks with which party men are familiar should have hitherto succeeded in making it appear that Mr. Lamb was the *popular* member. But the events of this day dissipated that fiction, and henceforth the efforts made by Mr. Lamb's friends were of the kind resorted to by the government candidates in Westminster. In fact, in some parishes, particularly in St. Anne's, the members of the local Committee, many of them, who had been put into action for Sir Murray Maxwell, were reformed for Mr. Lamb. But the Whigs did not yet choose to resign all semblance to popularity, as will be seen in the proceedings of the next day.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20.—SIXTH DAY.

THIS was the first fine day that had occurred during the Election, and the parties of Reformers were active in every part of Westminster. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse rode into Pimlico and Chelsea; they were received with enthusiasm in all parts. They attended a public meeting in the Broadway, Westminster, and were hailed by the same demonstrations of respect. The most sanguine expectations were held out from the event of Monday's poll, but the occupations of the tradesmen prevented them from attending at Covent Garden on this day. The friends of Mr. Lamb were also unremitting in their endeavours; and, to head the poll considerably at the end of the week, brought up a body of the regular parish forces, constables, beadles, watchmen, particularly from the parish of St. James. To these persons, a breakfast was previously given in the Haymarket, and a similar expedient was resorted to in another quarter of the town. Intelligence was brought to the King-street Committee of every one of these proceedings, and very frequently from the persons concerned; for, as happened

also on the last Election, the popular feeling being now completely roused, and entirely on one side, nothing was more common than for those whose interest had compelled them to give their votes against their conscience, to compound matters with themselves by giving information to the Reformers of the means resorted to by their opponents. During the course of this morning, the Committee were informed that a large party, chiefly watermen and dustmen, about fifty of them, had been hired by the Whigs to place themselves in front of the hustings, and to cheer Mr. Lamb with the same vehemence as they were to hoot Mr. Hobhouse. The hiring of these men took place at the Brown Bear, in Bow-street, and previously to the close of the poll, Mr. Hobhouse was taken by some Members of the Committee to the hustings, and the individuals so stationed were pointed out to him. The money they were to receive from the Whig Committee was to be half-a-crown, besides bread and cheese and porter.

At the usual hour, Mr. Hobhouse and Sir F. Burdett proceeded to the hustings, amidst the cheers of the multitude, which this day was in greater numbers than ever. The booths also were crowded to excess. There were several placards indicative of the feelings of the people. "SHAME ON WESTMINSTER—LAMB NOT KNOWN TILL SATURDAY, AND AT THE HEAD OF THE POLL—SHAME! SHAME! WHIG AND TORY UNITED CAN RETURN JACK KETCH." A large posting bill also contained the following verses from a poem of Mr. Anacreon Moore:—

" WHIG AND TORY.

" Yet who that looks on Time's accusing leaf,
Where WHIG AND TORY—thief opposed to thief—
On either side in lofty shame are seen,
While freedom's form hangs crucified between:—
Who, BURDETT,—who such rival rogues can see,
But flies from both to honesty and thee? "

A tremendous uproar prevailed previously to the close of the poll. The cries of "*Lamb for ever!*" and "*Hunt for ever!*" came from the individuals already mentioned, who were easily recognizable by their very shabby dress; for it was observed during the Election, the persons assembled were of the better class of tradesmen, and in proof of it may be remarked the fact that during the rain the whole line of audience was covered with umbrellas, an utensil not found in the hands of coalheavers and dustmen. These cries were almost drowned in the shouts of "*Hobhouse for ever!*" "*No Lamb!*" "*Down with Hunt!*" which came from the

great mass of the people; but the voices of the Brown Bear gentlemen, together with those in the hustings near Mr. Lamb, were quite sufficient to excite an opposition from the people, which served the purpose of interruption. The board was exhibited at a little past four:—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Hon. G. Lamb . . .	282 . . .	1824
J. C. Hobhouse, Esq..	117 . . .	1133
Major Cartwright . .	1 . . .	37

Mr. Hobhouse came forward, but the moment the word Gentlemen! escaped his lips, all was chaos. Several persons then cried out,—“*They are Lamb’s hired party!*” A voice near Mr. Lamb said, “*If one can interrupt, so can another.*” Mr. Hobhouse smiled and retired, saying to Mr. Lamb, “You had better see if they will hear you. Mr. Lamb declined. The shouts of the people called on Mr. Hobhouse again to come forward—he did so, but was again interrupted from the same quarter. He bowed, and drew back. Mr. Lamb then advanced, but the storm of hisses and howlings with which he was assailed, rent the air; he was driven back. Mr. Hunt tried, but although cheered by the hired men, and the Whigs in the hustings, was, if possible, worse received by the people than Mr. Lamb. He retired. Mr. Hobhouse was again called for; but, on presenting himself, was again interrupted. Two of those who were loudest opposite to him crying “*Off! off!*” were in perfectly good humour, and continued winking to him the whole time, as much as to say, “*You are up to us.*” Mr. Hobhouse said, “Gentlemen, I wish you a good day, as you do not wish to hear me.” He was going back again; but there were loud cries, “*We do wish to hear you.—We can hear you.—Never mind the hired mob, speak away.*” “Well then,” said Mr. Hobhouse, “I will speak to those nearest me.” He continued, as reported in the British Press—

The extraordinary exertions of the friends of my antagonist have placed him again at the head of the poll. I call them extraordinary, not because they have been very great, but because they have been of a novel and very unusual kind. There has been another public breakfast to-day, and besides this, the beadles, watchmen, and other *gentlemen* of the parish of St. James, have been brought up, under the immediate superintendence of a select vestryman. I could tell you of other great exertions—exertions which would at once explain to you why my opponent stands as he does, and, indeed, without which, it would be impossible for him to obtain any fair support. He told you yesterday, that he saw no very great harm in giving the voters a breakfast—and that he saw a *more*

solid satisfaction in a breakfast, than in following a flag or a drum. Perhaps he would also think there was *more solid satisfaction* in giving a voter five pounds, and when all other means of giving *solid satisfaction* failed, perhaps he would see no harm in resorting altogether to the practices of the borough-mongering Elections. I feel, however, the most confident expectation, that these means will fail in obtaining the ultimate object to which they are directed; I know they will have no ultimate effect. It is impossible they should, when the Electors feel and understand the motives and principles which actuate the friends of my opponent, and the means to which they resort to advance the object they have in view. You will, I trust, reject, with proper indignation, the candidate who so treats you; not indeed in a personal sense, but on account of the principles of the party who brought him forward. My Whig opponent has told you that the Electors are not to be intimidated. But whether they are or not, it is clear the friends of my opponent will try to intimidate them. I assure you, that all the arts formerly resorted to only by the Court are now used by the Whigs, I assure you, that persons of rank have threatened tradesmen with a loss of their custom, if they did not vote as he desired. All these arts are now revived, and shew what a steady friend of the people is presented to your choice. The Whig candidate says, he appeals to the tradesmen of Westminster; I ask him again, and I also beg of you to ask him, if he is not brought forward by the Aristocracy of Westminster? I desire of you to ask him, if he is not brought up here by a few individuals of rank to prop up the fallen fortunes of his despicable party? I ask you, if it is not notorious that the candidate now before you has been presented to your choice, solely because it has been determined by a certain proportion of the higher orders, that the tradesmen of Westminster shall not nominate to a seat men of their own principles? I know the Whigs give a scurvy name to some of the Electors of Westminster—they call them the *Rump*—but those to whom this designation is now given consist of no fewer than between three and four hundred of the most respectable of your fellow-citizens.—I can tell you what your opponents think of decent tradesmen, with whom they now condescend to shake hands. One of Mr. Lamb's own committee said to him, "I have been just shaking hands with these blackguards for you." They, in fact, take every pains, they do every thing to make you appear a separate and distinct class. They call you a rabble, a multitude, a mob, and want to make you appear in the eyes of your country a distinct and despised class. The Whigs never call themselves the friends of the people until they want to get something out of the people. They tell you when you speak your opinions, that they are wild, visionary, and full of anarchy: and

disorder. These are the designations your remonstrances get when they are presented to the state. If you choose a Whig, although he will be obliged to preserve a certain decency of appearance towards his constituents, yet you'll still hear nothing from him but what he holds in common with his party. When the people make propositions, he'll talk of their madness and folly—he'll do just the same for them that his party has done during the last twenty-five, or rather the last forty years, with some short intervals, and which has reduced them (the Whigs) to the lowest degree of public contempt. I put no part of the strength of this contest in myself. Mr. Lamb may be in some respects a better Representative for you; but I say this, that were he ten times more worthy than he is, and I ten times less worthy than my opponents may please to think me, still I say, that being a man pushed forward by the Whigs and the Aristocracy, he cannot be a man in any sense chosen by the free choice of the independent Electors of Westminster. It is possible that Mr. Lamb does not know the means resorted to by his supporters to insure his return; if he did, he would perhaps be ashamed of support upon such conditions. From my knowledge of the last Election, I can assure you that the same resort has been had on the present occasion to every trick, delusion, and artifice, which were arrayed against you then, by the supporters of the Ministerial Candidate. Ladies are now busy in canvassing in their carriages, ornamented with coronets. Servants are every where seen flying about with letters, and in short every thing which could degrade the best of causes has been brought into play for my opponent. I should hope that were he made properly acquainted with such practices, he would not encourage them. This is the manner in which the Whigs put in their claim for public approbation—this is the manner in which they pretend to change for the better—this is the manner in which they endeavour to shew their fondness for the people, and wish to be considered, according to the Whig manifesto, as their natural leaders. Why, gentlemen, a natural leader must have natural followers; but I see you have no wish to follow them. I repeat that I feel the utmost confidence this contest will end to the utter confusion of the Whig and Tory candidate, and that this unnatural coalition will meet the fate it deserves, as being the most base and arrogant that ever attempted to delude and intimidate the people of Westminster.

Mr. Hobhouse closed his speech amidst the shouts of the people, and the interruption from the Brown Bear patriots, and those in the hustings near Mr. Lamb.

Mr. Lamb now stood forward; but, the interruption which his party had given to Mr. Hobhouse, determined the people not to hear him at all. The opposition was more violent than at any

former day. Catcalls were added to the usual hisses—Mr. Lamb, according to the Morning Chronicle, therefore, determined to say but a few words. The only topic he observed in the acrimonious speech of his opponent to which he felt it necessary to advert was, the insinuation that he (Mr. Lamb) stood alone on the Aristocratical influence. He had to state one plain fact in answer. It was this—that the first Meeting he attended in Westminster where his pretensions to its representation were considered and approved, was a meeting of tradesmen. With regard to all the other random, often repeated, and scurrilous imputations, he had only to refer his opponent to that best criterion for estimating the public confidence, viz. the state of the poll.

Having said this, Mr. Lamb retired. The Morning Chronicle, said, "*with his numerous friends.*" And indeed, it is true, that when he went away, there was observed to be a general move at his end, opposite to the hustings, and all those who had been before designated as the Brown Bear party, retired with him. This indiscretion distinctly pointed out the fact of the hired gang. The gap made by their retreat, was instantly filled up; and the vast multitude were now left to the uncontrolled expression of their genuine sentiments. These were soon seen when Mr. Hunt came forward. No conception can be formed of the terrific shouts of indignation with which he was assailed, and even the Newspaper Reporters were obliged to own the complete downfall of him, whom the Chronicle had, during the whole week been reporting, as if he divided the good opinion of the people with Sir F. Burdett. The British Press gave the following tolerably accurate account of Mr. Hunt's effort. That paper said:—

Mr. HUNT came forward, and almost for the first time all his notable expedients failed to obtain any thing like an adequate hearing for him. The uproar still continued, "in such a voice as filled the earth and air," and in vain Mr. Hunt stood uncovered, making familiar nods and gestures to the immense crowd before him. "Oh!" said he, "this is a fine struggle—a very fine struggle between the *ins* and *outs*. So you'll hear nobody, won't you? Well, I can't help it—I'd be a fool indeed to-day to expect a hearing, after the reception you have given Mr. Hobhouse, not one word of whose speech could I hear.

(As Mr. Hunt uttered this sentence, he was struck in some part of the body with a lump of mud, thrown by some idle fellow in the crowd, to say the least of him; but when it fell from him upon the board on which he stood, it was found to contain a small flint stone, which was immediately handed to Mr. Hunt, who held it up and said, with much apparent humour)—"Who is the clever fellow that threw this?—A pretty friend of any Candidate he must

be.—Is this his mite to the poll?—Let me tell him that stones are not words. (*The uproar which partially subsided from, we presume, the proper disinclination of the crowd to sanction the stone-throwing act, was again resumed, and Mr. Hunt could only be heard by those who were immediately near him.*)—"Why," said he, "do you object to hear me?—Is it because I tell the truth without fee or reward? I should hope that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse will take a lesson from what they have seen this day. You see others can interrupt as well as their friends; they may hire persons to come here to interrupt us, but the People of Westminster come here voluntarily to interrupt them.—(*A cry of "No—Lamb's party has hired fifty men at the Brown Bear."*) No, the hiring is all at the other side, but it is the People who come here to-day to express their indignation at it. This is what Mr. Hobhouse's friends call the Freedom of Election. It is the Rump Freedom, Gentlemen, it is the Freedom of the Rump group.—(*Here the uproar increased so much that Mr. Hunt's voice was drowned even to those who were immediately near him.*) They say I have a personal hostility to Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse: No, I have no personal hostility to them, but I hate their equivocating politics. The time has been when I would have laid down my life for Sir Francis Burdett, because I believed him, at the time, to be an honest political man. Now I'd rather lay down my life than see him succeed in his career, which is to make this great and independent City a rotten borough. I find, Gentlemen, by your noise, that you are going to be wonderfully impartial to-day: however, Mr. Hobhouse's friends can't say they were alone heard to-day, for we were all, I believe, heard alike, with this only difference, that their party was paid for coming, and ours came, as I said before, voluntarily. I won't trespass at present any more upon your time. This is what they call freedom of election. I am not angry at your noise. Let us all fare, let us all be heard alike; I have no objection to take my share of what's going. This is not the first noise I have encountered. I have stood many a pelting, pitiless storm without fee or reward, and I am a volunteer now to assert the rights of those who won't hear me. Some persons have been whispering about that I am a spy. This is the old trick of the party. Yes, I am a spy, I am a spy into the conduct of the Rump: I have spied into their concerns. They have a right, therefore, to call me a spy. But it is the old cant. When Mr. Place, of Charing-cross, who is now at the head of their Committee, called Sir Francis Burdett, a coward and a scoundrel, for secretly leaving the Tower, the Rump called Place a spy; when Cobbett exposed their tricks, they called him a spy; when Sherwin did the same, he too was a spy: and now they have found that I am one. I am not

such a spy as Sir Francis Burdett was in Ireland—he was amusing himself spying the Irish girls. But where was I at that critical period?—I was where the Hon. Baronet ought to have been—I was spying into the ——— acts of a corrupt Government at Derby, and furnishing the wretched prisoners with some means for their defence. Where was I when Dr. Watson was put upon his trial by the same corrupt Ministers?—I was at my post, I gave evidence for the Doctor, exposing the spy that the Government had sent forth to do their dirty work. I was a spy upon the spy then, just as I am now a spy upon the Rump, and assisting to expose their nefarious practices. As I find I cannot be heard beyond those near me, I shall conclude, with hoping that you will come down here with better humour next Monday, for then you'll see Brooks and his thousand fresh voters. Mind, I am of no party—I don't love either the Whigs or the Tories; but Mr. Lamb is open—he speaks intelligibly, and tells you what he means; but nobody alive can understand the other party. Good night—I'll see you again, please God, on Monday."

The instant change produced on the vast concourse when Sir Francis Burdett came forward, was as decisive as the manner in which the last speaker had been received. The whole people in front, and the ladies and others in the booths, waved hats and handkerchiefs, and made the whole square ring with their applauses. The same paper, the British Press, was fair enough to notice this reception as it deserved; but had the reporter seen the Brown Bear party retire with Mr. Lamb, as they were distinctly seen by all in the higher part of the hustings, he would not have attributed the deep silence that followed the acclamations, perhaps to "the crowd being tired by the exercise of their lungs:" but would have contented himself with attributing that silence, as he also did, "*to the more likely influence of his personal popularity, which, like the attendant of Ulysses—*"

"The blue-ey'd Pallas, his celestial friend,
(In form a herald) bade the crowds attend.
Th'expecting crowds in still attention hung.—"

The Honorable Baronet delivered the following speech:—

Gentlemen, you have not now to learn from me, that hissing and noise (and I am sorry that some of it came from the Gentlemen behind Mr. Lamb—sorry for it on his account rather than their own)—I say, you have not now to learn, that a few persons, who are so disposed in a very large crowd, can easily throw such obstacles in the way of a speaker, as to prevent his being generally audible to those whom he addresses. But you all know that this partial hissing is no proof of your disinclination to hear the Gentleman who is the object of it. I have only to lament that this sort of interruption

has been given ; and to implore, if my voice can have any influence amongst you, that you will on all future occasions adopt a different course. I have to implore, that the immense multitude who assemble in front of these hustings, will, whatever may be their private feelings, give a patient hearing to every person who comes forward to address them. To adopt the good old English maxim, I trust you will give ' to every man a clear stage and no favour,' and then let every man judge for himself upon the merits after he has heard every thing which has been said upon the subject—(*Great applause.*) I shall be short, Gentlemen, in the observations which I mean to make to you ; principally, indeed, because it is unfair to speak on one side, when the person upon whom I am animadverting, cannot be heard upon the other. But I cannot help congratulating you upon the little accession of strength which the Whig Candidate has gained upon the day's poll. See how weak and languid have been his efforts, and recollect that he has not spared to use all the means which have been embodied for him to give activity to his exertions. You have heard of the contemptible effort which had been made by inducing Ladies to go about canvassing for votes, and using their influence on this occasion (and for this occasion only), to confer false civilities to promote the object of the other Candidate. You have heard of the inducement to voters, by what Mr. Lamb calls the more solid satisfaction of a breakfast, in return for their votes. But notwithstanding all these paltry artifices, they will still find, that though some portion of the Electors of Westminster are so contemptible as to be made the dupes of these tricks, or are so unfortunately situated as to be in no condition to resist them, still enough of Electors will be found to designate this Whig or Tory Candidate, or rather Coalition Candidate, for that should be his name, in the manner he deserves, and to shew him and his party that you have too high a sense of character to be corrupted or intimidated by such threats and designs, and that you will not be paid for your loss of honour by a breakfast, or sell for "a mess of pottage your inheritance." It is said that there is more solid satisfaction in a breakfast than in following music and a flag. The satisfaction which the one imparts is a mental one, and gives rise to honest sentiment ; that of the other is confined to the mere selfish gratification of the appetite at the moment—the slave gets his breakfast as the wages of his iniquity. But the misfortune is, that this slavery is such a degradation, it is of so humiliating a cast, that the slave cannot eat his pudding and then hold his tongue. No, his tongue must be prostituted to the utterance of sentiments which his heart abhors, and he is obliged to commit perjury in the face of his country.—(*Applause.*)—I beg of you to consider that every vote which is extorted by terror or influence, or in any other manner than

by the honest bias of your own opinions, is a treason committed in the face of your country, and a perjury in the eye of God. I have no doubt but that the bulk of the Electors of Westminster will not permit such a stigma to be cast upon them. I have no doubt but they will contemplate this portentous monster, which wants to swallow them, just as it ought to be contemplated. It is an animal shockingly distorted; it is an animal composed of most discordant parts, and which seems to be actuated by no particular principles, not even will the strange compound of its original foundation satisfy its makers. They have, even since they took up the cause, improved upon its shape; they have willingly taken up in their aid all the filth and scum of this great town; they have, as you have seen, made alliance with that which is so base and contemptible that I can give it no name.—(*Applause.*) You have this day seen the Whig Candidate standing on and addressing you from the same board on which the person stood who with me shall be nameless. Surely this monstrous alliance of Court and Whig, and persons of this description, can have no affinity in honest principle, of any kind—(*Cries of "No, no."*) This strange anomalous monster has more heads than the hydra—its centre is a simple lamb's head—(*Laughter*)—shaved so close as to require a wig (a Whig) to cover it; and shaved so close too by the honest Westminster barber—(*Loud laughter and applause.*) This lamb's head has two faces, one of them black, the other white. Then you have that strange anomalous monster (pointing to Mr. Hunt), whose front is of brass, whose tongue, though composed of the venom of the asp, has yet, not like the asp, the faculty of stinging any thing but itself—(*Loud applause.—Here Mr. Hunt came forward, and seemed to plead, but was driven back instantly by terrific shouts of indignation.*)—You have then a Ministerial head to crown this Cerberian monster. It has a front of terror, in whose eye dwells cruelty, and in whose mouth corruption only hangs.—(*Applause.*) I am sorry to have to add another feature to this portentous monster—peeping from under its distorted bulk, is a head of false patriotism; it is an empty head—(*a laugh*)—and what is marvellous, it has been told me that this head is a striking likeness of Mr. Alderman Wood, who has been met canvassing this day for Mr. Lamb.* (*Cries of "Shame!"*). Here is a personification of an union of all interests against the interests of the People. Portentous and hideous as this monster is, and possessed as I told you of such multiple and various heads, and such dis-

* Mr. Corder, a respectable quaker, stated himself to have seen Alderman Wood canvassing in Clare Market, and added that, being personally known to the worthy Alderman, he had bowed to Mr. Wood. Sir Francis Burdett, previously to alluding to the canvas of Alderman Wood, questioned Mr. Corder twice in the Committee Room, and heard his report confirmed by another individual present. It turned out, however, that they were both mistaken.

torted limbs and features, there is still a Hercules that can lay this monster sprawling at your feet. I trust and hope that that Hercules will be found in the spirit of the Electors of Westminster, and if that spirit be roused, as on a former occasion, there can be no doubt, not only of our complete success, but also of our obtaining a triumph, which I venture to say, will be greater than was ever had on any former occasion in Westminster. I shall not take up any more of your time at this moment. Time is precious, and this is the time of action, and not of words. I hope, therefore, that each of you here who are electors, will go home, and exert himself among his neighbours, to put them on their guard against the contemptible tricks of a puny, paltry Aristocracy, which is arrayed in vain against the Democracy of Englishmen. I hope no man will be gulled with the false civilities of canvassing visitors, or will be induced to partake of the treats given by persons of rank, where the bread he eats will hereafter be a reproach to his conscience for the meal into which he was betrayed by his ignorance or credulity. Surely Englishmen, and such Englishmen too as the Electors of Westminster, will never cast away their first privilege, that of giving a free vote for the Election of their Representatives, for so mean, so vile, so contemptible a gratification as that of breakfasting with people of this cast, who make tools of them to promote their object. I take leave again to implore of the Electors, that when we next meet, they will give to all, without reference to the particular feelings of hostility which they may have towards any individual, a patient hearing. You owe this to them, and above all, to the integrity and independence of your own proceedings. I also implore that you will be on the alert for the maintenance of your own rights, and that on Monday you will appear at the poll with all your friends and acquaintances.—(*Great applause.*)

It would be impossible to describe the effect of this speech upon the whole of the immense auditory. Notwithstanding Mr. Hobhouse was 691 behind Mr. Lamb on the whole poll—the triumphant hopes, the animating manner of Sir Francis, who had now manifestly beaten down the united efforts of the coalition on the hustings, restored the confidence of the People in the final success of their favourite Candidate; and as Mr. Hobhouse retired from the hustings, he was greeted with loud cheers, and cries of (*"You'll beat 'em on Monday—never fear,"*) together with a thousand salutations, shaking by the hand, clapping on the back, and other tokens of popular goodwill, which accompanied him to the Committee Room in King-Street. Both Sir Francis and Mr. Hobhouse addressed a crowd of Electors in Fisher's Rooms, and received the most hearty promises of unceasing activity. The Canvassers reported that they scarcely ever met with a refusal.

When Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse had retired—

Mr. WOOLER came forward amidst loud uproar. He said, he came there to ascertain who was the popular favourite, and if he had not been able to ascertain who was, upon looking to the state of the poll he certainly discerned who was not—(*Hisses, and loud cries of "Off, off!"*) If the Electors did not wish to hear him, he would retire.—(*Cries of "We don't, be off!"*) Mr. Wooler finally retired without delivering his intended speech.

Mr. WALKER, in defiance of all opposition, and amidst universal confusion, then addressed the multitude. He knew, he said, that the Rump were his enemies; but he cared not; he was an independent man, and, as far as his voice went at least, he would protect Westminster from the dictation of a base and contemptible oligarchy. He passed high encomiums upon the virtuous and venerable Major Cartwright, and lamented that there was neither spirit nor honour enough among the Electors to return that father of Reform to Parliament.

The business was thus concluded, with the exception of a determined attack upon Mr. Hunt, who remained on the hustings till the last, and who, upon getting into a hackney-coach which waited for him, was not alone assailed with dreadful outcries, but narrowly escaped a rougher handling by the quick driving of the coachman, who left a crowd of assailants behind, venting their displeasure in angry words. The carriage was, however, followed by many to Mr. Hunt's lodgings in Norfolk-street, and the clamour against him continued until the assailants were weary, and spontaneously withdrew.

This evening Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse attended several parochial meetings. An attempt was made to convene a public meeting also for Mr. Lamb in the parishes of St. Margaret's and St. John's: but the popular feeling was found to be so decidedly against Mr. Lamb, that he and his friends were obliged to retire precipitately from the assembly, amidst shouts of "*Hobhouse for ever.*" It was now found that the expectations announced by the Whigs, that before the first week was over, Mr. Lamb would be the favourite with the people, from the superiority of his wit and good humour, were not realised, or likely to be realised. Indeed, Mr. Lamb's wit did not seem much to take; and as to his good humour, he had since the third day shewn himself in a violent passion, which betrayed itself in angry words and gestures too clearly to be mistaken; whilst Mr. Hobhouse, except on the second day, had, notwithstanding his minorities, been perfectly tranquil, and apparently well pleased.

The exertions of both parties were continued during Sunday. Two or three of Major Cartwright's friends now assisted Mr. Hobhouse's canvas.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22.—SEVENTH DAY.

The Committee of Electors issued the following advertisement.

"WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—REFORM OF PARLIAMENT."

ELECTORS—During the last week the coalesced factions, and the refuse of all parties, have gained an advantage over you. Let them now see what freemen can do when engaged in their own cause. Hasten to the poll, and insure the triumph of Reform. Vote for Hobhouse, the friend of Radical Reform. Vote for one who will boldly second your intrepid champion, Sir Francis Burdett."

Mr. Lamb sent his advertisement to the paper, which was as follows:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER."

"Gentlemen,—It is my duty respectfully to thank you for having placed me in so proud a situation on the poll; but it is no less my duty to warn you against allowing it to produce the slightest relaxation in your efforts. The feeling, indeed, is already sufficiently pronounced; but the exertions of our opponents are unremitting, and a battle is never won while the enemy is still in the field. Let no one suppose that his individual vote will not be necessary to insure our victory. An early and general resort to the poll can alone give us real security. To-day my opponent has described me as desirous of taking the representation out of the hands of tradesmen, in order to transfer it to the aristocracy.—To the tradesmen of Westminster I here distinctly appeal, and I call upon them, for their own sakes, to come forward and decide the contest.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obliged and faithful servant,

GEORGE LAMB."

"General Committee Room,
Henrietta Street, Covent Garden."

It may be mentioned that Mr. Lamb sent letters of thanks to all those who voted for him, daily. The Committee of the Reformers having no means to defray the expenses incident to such a practice, and not having a single daily morning paper in their interest, were obliged to content themselves with dispersing a few hundred handbills at the close of each day's poll—such as has been before inserted.

The Morning Chronicle of this day contained the following paragraph.

"It was not till the evening of Friday, the 12th instant, that it was decided on proposing a Whig candidate the following day, at the nomination of candidates for Westminster, in opposition to Mr. Hobhouse, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS SPEECH ON THE TUESDAY PRECEDING, AND OF MR. PLACE'S REPORT, and

"it was actually past twelve on the same night before Mr. Lamb finally decided to stand."

The reader may compare this paragraph with the paper signed "James Macdonald, Chairman," in which the starting of Mr. Lamb is ascribed to the dislike of Major Cartwright's and Mr. Hobhouse's principles;* and also with Mr. Lamb's speech at the nomination, in which he said he had only hitherto kept back because he waited for a person to oppose Mr. Hobhouse.†

The friends of Reform were stirring at an early hour in every quarter of Westminster; each of the parishes had previously agreed to assemble a meeting, at which Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were requested to be present. The banners and bands of music which, since the year 1807, the electors have substituted for the marrow-bone-and-cleaver-men and the bludgeon-men, who filled the streets with tumult and carnage, were in readiness to precede the bodies of electors in their processions from their parishes to the hustings. These processions were conducted peaceably, but were hailed with the loudest shouts from the windows and doors of the streets through which they passed. Notwithstanding the whole town was in motion not an accident of any kind occurred, nor was there the slightest disposition to riot. The parish of St. Anne was more particularly on the alert during this day; and, indeed, being free from that engine of tyranny and corruption, a select vestry, has always distinguished itself in the popular cause. The Whigs contrived to play off an electioneering trick in this and other parishes, and dispersed many thousand copies of a hand-bill, announcing that the meeting for that day was postponed two hours.‡ A hand-bill to that effect was also sent to Sir Francis Burdett. The object of this artifice was to assemble many of the Electors at the wrong time, in the hopes that those who would not wait, might disperse and put off their voting until another day. The Whigs knew the utility of such a contrivance; they knew that many tradesmen dislike to be long absent from their occupations; and if they do not vote when they have appointed to vote with their neighbours, often put off their voting to another time, and frequently do not vote at all. The great object of the Coalition Committee was to gain time for em-

* Ante, p. 72.

† Ibid, p. 85.

‡ "Meeting Postponed Two Hours."
WESTMINSTER ELECTION.
HOBHOUSE AND RADICAL REFORM.

Parish of St. Anne, Westminster.

"A Public Meeting of the Friends to the Return of Mr. HOBHOUSE, and a Radical Reform in Parliament, will be holden at the King's Arms, Compton Street, on Monday, the 22d inst. at Twelve o'clock, when

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart, M.P. and JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq. Will be present, and the Electors will proceed in a Body to the Poll.—The Chair will not be taken till ONE o'clock precisely."

ploying the usual undue influences on the Electors. The trick before mentioned was for this purpose, and was helped out by sending a spy to the St. Anne's Committee-room, who excited considerable commotion, and complained of the delay of Sir Francis Burdett. Many electors would not poll before the whole body came: and although every means were resorted to by the General Committee to contradict the false report, very many electors were prevented from voting, and the cause suffered materially. In the parishes of St. Clement and St. Mary, St. Paul and St. Anne, considerable confusion prevailed, but no bad consequences ensued, although the Whigs evidently risked such consequences, and apparently would have been glad of a riot, for their organ, the Chronicle, had now changed its tone, and called the Reformers *LEVELLERS*, and represented the *followers* of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, as he was pleased to call the *PEOPLE*, as being prepared for some mischief by "*intoxicating draughts*," and ready to commit outrage upon the *PUBLIC*. This new language was the consequence of the decided manifestation of popular feeling on the last days of the week, which made it hopeless for the Whigs any longer to pretend to be the *popular party*; and accordingly the Coalition henceforward adopted the language always used by ministerial candidates.—A paragraph in the Chronicle appeared this morning, with the words just quoted, and as it was alluded to in Mr. Hobhouse's speech of this day, is here subjoined.* When the reader has perused this paragraph, he will feel more strongly than ever the propriety of Sir F. Burdett's strictures on the Chronicle. Need he be told, that the music did not go "from public-house to public-house?" it preceded the voters merely from the parochial committee-room to the hust-

* "This day, we are told, is to demonstrate the extent of Mr. Hobhouse's power. This day processions with flags and bands of martial music are to parade from public house to public house, and to bring up to the poll at least a thousand votes! We shall see. In the mean time we trust, that Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse (who must feel themselves morally, as well as legally, answerable for the consequences) will take care that their followers shall not be infuriated to outrages on the public. The violent language used from the hustings has not been lost upon their partisans. The unprovoked and impudent calumnies on the press, in which Sir Francis has chosen to indulge, have, in more instances than one, produced breaches of the peace, of which we may have occasion to speak hereafter—but which, we trust, will not be continued. The independent body of householders who have voted for Mr. Lamb, have formed no procession—they have had no colours—they have been warmed in the cause by no intoxicating draughts, and they have not degraded themselves by any coarse or unmannerly behaviour. They are actuated solely by a zealous desire to preserve the Constitution intact against the designs of *LEVELLERS*; and they will quietly, strenuously, and undauntedly, continue their efforts to the last hour of the poll for that distinct and important object, convinced that in the end the true and sound judgment of this great city will be pronounced in favour of that inestimable Whig principle, which, while it would repair all defects that time may have occasioned, would preserve the fabric in all its just proportions, of King, Lords, and Commons, entire."

ings. Need he be referred to the past speeches to know that the followers of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse never had been infuriated by their speeches to outrages on the *public*? does he not see that these *followers* were in fact the *public*? Need he be referred to the same speeches, to be reminded that the unprovoked and impudent calumnies on the press should be written "unprovoked and impudent calumnies of the press?" Need he again be told, that the breaches of the peace were the burning of the Chronicle? Is it necessary to inform him, on the faith of all Westminster, that no intoxicating draughts, no not a gill of any liquor was provided for the Electors by the Committee of radical Reformers? Will it astonish him to learn the positive fact, that at one public breakfast alone, given by Mr. Lamb's Committee to some of his voters, six-and-twenty dozen of wine were drunk? And, lastly, need the reader be desired to read over again all the former reported speeches, in order to convince himself that the "coarse and unmannerly behaviour" imputed to Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, was another falsehood of the lying Chronicle, and could only in strict justice be applicable to the speeches of Messrs. Hunt and Gale Jones, prompted, and reported, and lauded, contrary to all fact, by the friend and reporter and agents of the very Editor of the Chronicle himself. These remarks would not be made in a mere record of facts, if the Reformers had at the time any means beyond that of ill-reported speeches of disseminating truths and contradicting fictions. But, as has been said before, all the daily press was either in direct opposition to them, or coldly neutral towards their cause; and they had not the means of inserting long letters in their papers, by paying for them. Indeed, had they possessed the money necessary, it is probable that the demand would have been too exorbitant to be complied with, or the insertion of these articles would have been flatly refused. With such obstacles have the people's committees always had to contend. But to continue the account of the contest—

Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett were this day in almost every part of Westminster. Wherever they appeared, they were hailed with enthusiasm. The assemblage before the hustings and in the booths, which was as numerous as ever, "consisted," the Times newspaper observed, "almost entirely of the friends of Mr. Hobhouse. Had the paper said, "of those friendly to Mr. Hobhouse," it would not have contributed, perhaps without intending it, to keep up the delusion, that Mr. Hobhouse had any friends except those who were spontaneously so, and that those *friends* were in fact the PEOPLE of Westminster. Several placards were exhibited this day in front of the hustings: they had all one tendency, and were for Mr. Hobhouse; but it may be as well to mention here,

that the Reformers' Committee did not invent any of the placards, or cause them to be affixed. One of them was as follows:

"Friends of Radical Reform, be not deceived. The Court, the Whigs, and the apparent friends, but the real enemies, of the Major, are all united against you."

"The false friends of the Major own that he has no chance of success, but declare they will destroy Hobhouse. For this they have united even with the Whig Candidate!—they are to be found even in his Committee!"

"Hunt himself has taken the Lamb under his protection! but you will crush the triple-headed monster."

It should be observed, that Major Cartwright polled only one more vote in the remaining nine days of the poll.

The hired ruffians were not in pay this day; there was, therefore, but one feeling manifested. The board, with the state of the poll, was exhibited.

	Polled this Day.	Gross Poll.
Hon. G. Lamb	264	2,088
J. C. Hobhouse, Esq.	569	1,702
Major Cartwright	0	37

It appeared that Mr. Hobhouse had gained three hundred upon the day's poll. The intelligence was received with the loudest cheerings, which did not subside until Mr. Hobhouse came forward to address the people.* Mr. Hobhouse said,

Gentlemen,—I congratulate you on the state of the poll. We have this day triumphed over the Coalition, and the cause of Reform is in a majority of 305 above the efforts of corruption. If the exertions of this day are strenuously continued, success is certain. The majority of your opponent is dissolving fast away, and with it are dispelled some of the delusions which he has succeeded in spreading amongst the Electors, to the injury of my character and of your cause.—(*Applause*). It is now tolerably well known, that I am not the Tory candidate,—(*a laugh, and no, no, you are not*),—and I have the pleasure of informing you, that the nobleman to whom I alluded the other day has assured me, that he at least for one did not so designate me.† Those who did, will now find the

* Times of Tuesday, Feb. 23.—The paper is here quoted to shew, that the remonstrance of Sir Francis Burdett, on the conduct of the Chronicle, had made the Editor of the Times see the propriety of giving a little fairer account of the proceedings in Covent Garden, than had hitherto appeared in his paper.

† The Morning Chronicle, pretending to give a report of this speech, at this place, inserted these words:—"Random charges are the weapons of you and Burdett—first abuse and then apologize"—from the friends of Mr. Lamb.—It is solemnly affirmed, that this remark was never made at the hustings. The friends of Mr. Lamb did not go quite so far as to impute malignity and cowardice to Sir Francis

artifice useless. This is something gained; but my opponents, who seem resolved that I shall not be a thing without a name, have done me the honour to re-baptize me, under a title, which is directly opposite to their former appellation,—and which, I trust, I as little deserve. They now call me, and they call you, gentlemen! and all those who are attached to the popular cause, *LEVELLERS*. Such, I see, is the epithet with which the *Morning Chronicle* of this day has been pleased to designate us—an epithet formerly applied to his own Whigs, and which, it is no stretch of assertion to say, that they deserved at least as well as we deserve. In one respect, indeed, I fancy I discern some justice in the term, as applied to them. They would willingly then, and would willingly now *level* all above them to their own condition; but I never heard that they were willing to exalt their inferiors to the eminence retained by themselves.—(*Applauses.*) On the contrary, this proud party have been not a whit more active in attacking the undefined prerogatives of the crown, than they have been, when occasion required, in diminishing the rights of the people.—(*Applause.*) As for myself, there is one point of view in which I am not unwilling to be regarded as a *leveller*: I wish to be thought, as I shall strive to be seen, to the extent of my small capacity, a leveller of the pretensions of an usurping aristocracy—(*loud cheers*)—an aristocracy, which the systems of feudal barbarism, pernicious as they were, would never have deigned to admit—an aristocracy, not composed of those raised above the rest of their species by any of those qualities which, adventitious as they are, have always in some degree commanded the respect of mankind, but chiefly filled up by the retainers of party, and by those who by intrigue, subserviency, illegal gains, and the baser arts, have appropriated to themselves all the honours of the crown and all the power of the people—have robbed the one of its just prerogatives, and the other of their undoubted rights. For, my fellow-citizens, you have not now to be told that the Crown by itself is not formidable—you have not now to learn, that so far from being formidable, it is absolutely stripped of all that majesty which should environ and hedge in a king; and that it has been in fact one of the grand delusions of the Whigs, your opponents, to attempt to hold up this bugbear of prerogative, in order that all your jealousies being directed one way, you might not watch the silent but sure progress of their own usurpation.—(*great ap-*

Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, and to put the recognition of an error on the same footing as the commission of one—but that the Editor should have invented the remark, and thought it decent and natural in the mouths of his Whig gentlemen, will shew his conception of what is fair and honorable. The lowest of those whom the Whigs call the rabble, would have been incapable of such baseness, and injustice, and immorality.

plausibles). It has been a plan originally adopted by the Whigs, and followed up by their opponents, to divide between them all the power justly residing in the Commons of this Realm, and partially confided by them *for* their own benefit, to their own chief magistrate the King; but never confided by them *against* their own interests, to any party or set of men amongst their own fellow-subjects. Our treacherous fellow-subjects, the Borough-mongers, have, I say, parcelled out the sovereign power of this land amongst themselves; and I appeal to you, whether the Whigs have not contributed rather to confirm than to loosen this degrading tyranny. As a party, indeed, it was impossible but that they should support a system so contrived as to perpetuate their own power. As a party, they have, on the contrary, been distinguished only by the profusion of their promises, and by the failure of their performances. Having, during the present reign, flourished chiefly in those regions supposed peculiarly qualified for the exercise of patriotism—I mean the opposition benches in parliament; they have had full and free occasion for the foundation of a character truly popular, were it only by the comparison of the future advantages of their own good intentions, with the present calamities inflicted by their adversaries. When, however, they have been brought to the test—when they have succeeded in their efforts, let me ask you, gentlemen, what have you gained, and what have they not lost? At every such period, has it not seemed as if the party were cursed with the accomplishment of their wishes, and had attained to power as if for the express purpose of shewing they were unworthy of it? To praise the Whigs as opponents of ministers, is but a paltry tribute to their merit. The part they then have played has been in their character as oppositionists, and such as their Tory adversaries would have themselves adopted, if out of place. The only adequate trial must be reserved for politicians when in power—when they have the means of mischief and of reformation confided to their hands. I ask you, then, have Whig ministers been national benefactors?—(*Loud cheers and cries of no, no.*) I know that it is the fashion to say, that the Whigs in 1806 were not long enough in place to do much good. Perhaps not; but they were long enough in place to do much evil.—(*Cheers.*) This is a question fairly to be discussed between Mr. Lamb and myself. If he glories in being a Whig and a party man, he must shew me that I, who am no Whig and no party man, have not justly appreciated the merits of the Whigs or the advantages of party. Let him, who says he is a Reformer, shew you how, as a modern Whig and a party man, he can be for Reform. I shall refer him to his own great authority—to Mr. Fox. That accomplished statesman, though the child and the champion of a party, saw that Reform was incompatible with the existence of those party divisions

which had hitherto distracted the State. Accordingly, in the noble speech in which he advocated Mr. Grey's Reform in 1797, he stated, as one of the great advantages to be derived from the project, that it "WOULD GIVE A DEATH-BLOW TO THE MISERABLE DISTINCTIONS OF WHIG AND TORY,—under which the warfare had been maintained between pride and privilege; and through the contention of rival jealousies, the genuine rights of the many had been gradually undermined and frittered away." (*Loud cheerings.*) Had Mr. Grey's Reform been adopted, the rival jealousies of party would, indeed, have been lost in the union of all honest men for the national good; but what has now at last occurred? these jealousies have been dropped; the warfare of parties has been suspended, but for an object far different, nay even for the express purpose of extinguishing all hopes of Reform. (*Applauses.*) This is the sole point on which all parties seem agreed, and their concord is, if possible, more fatal to you than their dissension. You have heard Mr. Lamb say he is a Reformer; and so he may be in some sort, though I cannot say he has spoken out at once, and told you what he will do; but I beg you to observe that the ministerial papers, his allies, affect to consider his progress on the poll as a sure proof that Reform has no hold upon your hearts; and that those amongst you who still stand firm to that principle, have lost their influence, and are now fit to be treated with the most decided scorn and contempt. But it is my hope, it is my confidence, that you will convince them to the contrary: and I feel sure, that if you return me to Parliament, it will be for no other purpose than to speak your sentiments on the great, the important question, of Parliamentary Reform. (*Loud cheerings.*) To this end have your former glorious exertions all been directed, and to the same national object you have now come forward to promote the return of another Reformer. I am happy to say that your efforts will daily become more easy. The delusions of your opponents are dispersing like the mist, and leave a clearer sky above you—you can see their manœuvres, and you can regulate your own.—Not, however, that when you have defeated one trick, you will not have to contend with similar ingenuity. Even this day a singular artifice was practised, which has diminished our numbers on the poll. You know that in several of the parishes our friends announced that they would meet at certain hours, and proceed in a body to the poll. I have a bill in my hand, which was dispersed at an early hour, and which stated that these meetings were postponed two hours.* I need not explain to you that the object of this trick was to create confusion and dismay amongst our friends. (*Cries of*

* See the Bill at page 169.

'Shame,' and loud hisses and marks of indignation.) That the candidate contrived this honorable scheme himself I do not say—but that his supporters arranged it I need not say:—it bears the true Whig stamp; and I dare say it has been tried with success in some of their party contests in county elections. It is fit that you should be informed of these schemes as they arise, merely as a warning against future delusions; for, depend upon it, these *honest* artifices of our opponents will end only with the election. I feel assured that your exertions will confound not only their force but their fraud; and that both the one and the other will only retard, but cannot prevent the final triumph of Reform.

Mr. Hobhouse drew back amid loud and reiterated cheerings.

Mr. LAMB then came forward, and endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain a hearing. He bowed, and used every exertion of voice and gesture, but he was not allowed to continue speaking. The Chronicle of the next day reported his words to have been as follows:

The exertions of my opponents have produced a large advantage on to-day's poll, and I am glad of it, because nothing else could remove the entire confidence of my friends, who deemed our victory too secure. I am still confident of success. They have accused us of tricks, but two of their assertions have already been proved false, one respecting Alderman Wood, and one respecting a Nobleman canvassing for me. Of the hand-bill produced I know nothing; and though their tricks may be as endless as they represent ours, their poll will soon fall short.

The other newspapers said nothing of the retort courteous respecting the "*tricks*;" but whether this retort is to be set down to Mr. Perry's reporter, or to Mr. Lamb, cannot now be ascertained. Mr. Lamb immediately retired from the hustings.

Mr. HUNT then came forward, but was, as the Times said,* "received with even greater clamour, if possible, than that by which Mr. Lamb had been assailed; he was hissed, and hooted, and pelted in a most extraordinary manner. A man on the booth immediately opposite to him, insulted the orator in the grossest language, and kept swinging a rope in his hand, and telling him that he was destined to make his exit from this world by means of it: finding it impossible to obtain a hearing, Mr. Hunt at last withdrew; and his withdrawing appearing to the people as a kind of triumph, was hailed with the loudest shouts of applause and satisfaction."† It may

* Tuesday, Feb. 23.

† The reader may be pleased to see the Morning Chronicle's report of this speech, which it appeared was heard, or pretended to be heard by its reporter.

"Mr. HUNT then came to the front of the Hustings, amidst a general uproar. He confessed he was not surprised at the opposition which was made to his being heard, when he considered the attempts which had been had recourse to by the

be observed, that those whom the Editor of the Times called the mob were the whole assembly; the majority of whom were certainly of that class which buys his newspaper and supports him.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT now came forward, after being repeatedly called upon. As soon as he appeared upon the platform "he was greeted," as the same paper avowed, "with three long and loud cheers." When they had subsided, he thus addressed the Electors:

Gentlemen, it is in vain I see for me to enforce upon the score of impartiality, your patient attention to every speaker, when it is so contrary to the noble ardor of the feelings of your hearts. I know how true is the maxim that all should be heard: yet large public assemblies like this, do not meet so much for matter of discussion, as for the expression of their general feelings upon great topics, and this expression must depend entirely on the sentiments of their own hearts.

When last I had the honor of addressing you, I spoke with confidence on the patriotism and independence of the Electors of Westminster. The poll this day bears testimony that I did not judge improperly, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by the venal daily press, and in using this epithet, I speak of the misrepresentations of the *Lying Chronicle*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of falsehood*: I never meant; nor did I ever state (as has been misconceived) that the whole Press of England was venal. We know, and glory in it, that the whole Press is not so. The *Weekly Press* in particular, is warm in the cause of the People. I could never think of applying the epithet which belongs to the minions of corruption, to that part of the public press which stands free from the imputation. I should as little think of confounding a paper, whose character for general impartiality is so high, which is conducted with such great talent and ability, I mean the *Times newspaper*, with the corrupt part of the press, as I should of confounding the

other side. (*Tumult.*) The Meeting could not help seeing that the hired gang were this day better organized than they were on a former occasion. (*The uproar here increasing, Mr. Hunt held up a placard in his hand, "no foul play."*) This was the only way by which they could do justice, for unless they heard all, how could they judge who was correct? (*Here some person exhibited a halter, on which Mr. Hunt, turning to the Baronet, said, "give him his due."*) Were they afraid to hear him, from the noise they were now making? Did the threats of my Lord Castle-reagh or Ministers terrify them? The halter, he could assure them, was too great a bribe for a poor starving wretch. Would they consent to hear the Baronet? "Were I," said Mr. Hunt, "able like him to pay ten shillings a day, you would, I have no doubt, hear me also. You heard him on Saturday, and you heard the direful accusation he made against Mr. Alderman Wood. From that charge the Baronet is now willing, you will see, to sneak out. As a political Quixote, he has gone every where about under the pretence of serving you. But has he not grossly deceived you? Will he be in the House to-night at his duty? The proof of this will be seen to-morrow. I see you won't hear me to-day, but I have no doubt you will come here in a very different temper to-morrow." (*Applause and hisses.*)

The Whig gazette would still stick by Mr. Hunt, and find him "appliance." Never journalist dared so nobly: all London knew he lied, but he lied on.

Electors of Westminster with the Voters of hired Rotten Boroughs. And when I speak of the Venal Press, I desire it to be understood as speaking of the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, and the Morning Post—the vile vehicles of falsehood and misrepresentation.

I mentioned on Saturday, that I had been told that Mr. Alderman Wood had been canvassing for your opponents. I feel the greatest satisfaction to day in declaring that the worthy Alderman, who was returned by his Constituents, because he stood on those principles for which we contend, has not been guilty of a dereliction from those principles, the greatest crime against his Constituents of which he could have been guilty. The mistake arose from this circumstance. Somebody must have personated the worthy Alderman in the canvas to which I alluded. It seems, therefore, that all the tricks, all the delusion, and all the paltry artifices which it is possible to devise, have been arrayed on the present occasion, to keep up this miserable coalition, and to cast the authors of it into discredit and disrepute. You will defeat their machinations.

It appears by the state of the poll this day, that the sluices of corruption are nearly dry, and the waters of pollution almost stagnant, while the clear fountain of liberty is only beginning to play; and I have no doubt that the healthful stream which it will pour in to-morrow, will in a torrent sweep before it all the obstacles that oppose its course. The venal press (and again I only mean the Courier, Chronicle, and Post) the venal press has published that you are hired to hear me address you from this place!!—(*Shouts of laughter.*)—It is also pretended, that my money is distributed as an excitement to you!!—(*Shouts of laughter.*)—I do not wonder that the tools of power should believe it impossible for men to move without an interested and sordid motive. They judge of you by themselves; they are never moved but by such motives. They know but little of the independent Electors of Westminster, or of the means of moving this great and enlightened body. They cannot move it: I will let them into the secret. It can only be impelled into action by honesty and propriety of conduct. The power of corruption, the fear and compulsion brought to bear upon their independence, will on this occasion be defeated.

“Corruption wins not more than honesty.”

We know that many Electors have been compelled to vote against their feelings and consciences, and I beg of the persons of rank and station who have exercised this influence, I beg of the proud and insolent Aristocrats, that have so exercised their weight, to consider that by such an act, they, rather than the persons upon whom they work, are the moral offenders; and that they who in this manner drag voters to the poll, are indubitably

guilty of subornation of perjury. He who acts in this manner, commits the foulest crime against the liberties of his country, and the basest act of tyranny against society.

I confess I cannot help looking but with some feelings of compassion at the coalition candidate; for I cannot conceive a situation more unhappy, than that which compels him to stand upon the same plank, and be spoken to in terms of social converse, by such a person as last attempted to address you. Rather than be doomed to such a situation, I would willingly stand in the pillory in this place;—in that pillory, where those great and high personages ought to stand, who have tampered with the feelings and conscience of the Electors under their influence. (*Unbounded applause.*)

I am proud to find that the spirit of the country is *up for liberty*. While it remains so, we may effectually contend with every opposition.

Mr. Hobhouse has told you truly, we do not want to contend with the crown:—the constitution has provided a check upon the crown; and the right of appointing *our own* representatives is *our* check upon *that*. While, therefore, your minds are determined to assert your right to a *free choice of your* representatives, while you are determined to preserve that right pure and unsullied, the cause which we now maintain in the person of Mr. Hobhouse must triumph.—Yes, it will be a greater triumph for Westminster, than it has ever heretofore obtained. Only two words at parting:—first, I entreat of you to hear, if only for your own edification and entertainment, the coalition candidate; (*Laughter*) and next, that you will all of you feel, as I am confident you will feel, a determination to assist in the present struggle, and to sacrifice as I shall, every moment of time to secure its ultimate success.—(*Long continued plaudits.*)

The before quoted newspaper in reporting this speech, said in the conclusion, that “it was received by the audience with unbounded satisfaction,” and added, “we have omitted the usual phrases of *loud applause* and *reiterated cheerings*, at particular sentences, because we should have had to insert them at almost every other line of our report.”

Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett retired from the hustings amidst the warmest congratulations of the People, who now supposed their triumph certain.

The Times, recording the close of this day's proceedings, continued—“Mr. Hunt has become so much the object of popular indignation and hatred, by the line of conduct which he has pursued during the Election, that it was requisite on his leaving the hustings to place him under the protection of eight or ten constables. He was hissed, and hooted, and spit on by the surrounding multitude; and we expected every moment that they would have attacked the

constables, in order to wreak their vengeance on the unfortunate object of their hatred." No accident occurred, although he was followed by an immense concourse of the indignant populace all the way to his residence in Norfolk Street.

The confidence of the Reformers from the result of this day's poll was shewn in the advertisement issued at the close of it.

" REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

"ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,—You have heretofore defeated the Whigs—you have heretofore defeated the Tories. Both the Factions have now conspired against you, and have called to their aid the most vile and worthless.

"By influence and intimidation, by promises and threats, has this degraded Coalition endeavoured to destroy your independence. The attempts of Lords and Ladies—of the Ministerial Host, and the Opposition Phalanx—of Men high in Office, and of others fit for no Office but the despicable one they occupy—are all alike impotent. THIS DAY'S POLL HAS FILLED THEM WITH DISMAY!

"Continue your efforts! Come to the Hustings! Break up the vile and foul conspiracy against your LIBERTIES, by placing HOBHOUSE by the side of your able, intrepid, and faithful Champion, BURDETT!"

The apprehensions of Mr. Lamb's friends were no less clearly seen in the advertisement issued by that gentleman.* Indeed, the

* "TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"Gentlemen,—the result of this day has been such as might have been anticipated from the extraordinary exertions of my opponents, contrasted with the security of my friends, who too confidently deemed the battle won. To-morrow also my opponents will strain every nerve to gain upon the poll, and not improbably may obtain a considerable advantage. Now, therefore, is the crisis which calls on the numbers who are favourably inclined to the cause of real liberty and independence, to come forward, and meet my opponent's force with an overwhelming superiority. The success of our adversaries affords them a gleam of hope; but it can only be rendered permanent by the relaxation of our efforts, and too great reliance on the known intentions of a large majority of the Electors, who delay to vote, hoping the contest may be terminated without the necessity of their assistance. Let them come forward, and the issue will be no longer doubtful.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your obliged and faithful Servant,"

"General Committee Room,
Henrietta-Street, Covent-Garden."

"GEORGE LAMB.

betting at the club-houses, which is one of the usual tests of public opinion, was now in favor of Mr. Hobhouse: whereas, as much as ten to one had been before betted upon Mr. Lamb.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23.—EIGHTH DAY.

THE Whigs in the Chronicle, made this day, a furious attack upon Sir Francis Burdett, in the form of a lament and remonstrance of the Editor. It is subjoined as a part of the history of the time,* together with a piece of wit; which the Whigs also contrived to muster against Mr. Hobhouse.† The atrocity of making the multitude first drunk, that they might then be stimulated to commit murder upon the persons of the respectable householders: could

* "The public have seen the result of the extraordinary efforts which were yesterday made by Sir Francis Burdett in favor of his nominee. The momentary success was anticipated, and the respectable householders of Westminster were not imprudent in leaving the hustings to the multitude that had been first assembled at public-houses, and their brains heated by drink, as a preparation for the day's warfare. But so far from being dismayed by the numbers on the poll of yesterday, the independent Electors see reason for confidence in the result. There is but one other Saint-Monday, and the friends of the actual constitution in church and state, will see that their interests cannot be entrusted to safer hands than to the honest and well informed body of Westminster tradesmen.

"We see by the account of Sir Francis Burdett's speech, which we faithfully report, that he thought fit to make a most envenomed and scurrilous attack on the Editor of this Paper, by saying, that he was the *corrupt* 'tool of a corrupt faction.' At no period since that of MARAT and ROBERSPIERRE in France, have the public witnessed more direct or more flagitious attempts made to inflame the multitude, and direct their fury against the persons and property of individuals, than during the present Election contest. Surrounded as Sir Francis Burdett was yesterday, the language that he used was evidently calculated to subject his victim to the violence of his mob. In the very humble situation of life which we occupy, we might have hoped to escape the rancorous insinuations of this demagogue, especially when we considered that except in fair, open, hostility to his principles, we never suffered our pages to be sullied by any of the reports to his prejudice, of ingratitude for services performed, and treachery to private friendship; nor could we forget that we had '*eaten salt together*.' But of late all considerations, save those of immolating the persons who apprehend danger to the country from his career seem lost to him, and he spreads his calumnies and falsehoods without the slightest regard to the consequences they may produce.

"For ourselves, our conduct has been before the eyes of the public for more than forty years. The conviction impressed on our mind by the eloquence of Mr. Fox, that the principles he asserted in support of freedom, justice, and humanity, were incontrovertible, we have maintained with sacred integrity. We defy all parties and factions to shew that we have been actuated in their maintenance by a corrupt motive. The sound party in the state, who act on the principles of Mr. Fox, we feel it to be a public duty to support; but we have again and again shewn, that where we thought we perceived a deviation from those doctrines, we have openly declared it."—*Morning Chronicle*, February 23.

† "TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

"Sir,—We all of us remember the delight with which, as children, we used to practise our youthful organs of utterance, in reciting the following simple and beautiful ditty:—

"There

certainly be equalled only by the atrocity of making such an accusation, knowing it to be utterly devoid of all foundation. It will be with no less horror than astonishment, that the reader will be obliged to recognize the existence of a man so wicked, as wilfully to poison the sources of future history; and, under the pretext of defending innocence, blacken an honorable character, and no small portion of his fellow-citizens, with the imputations of the most enormous crime and infamy. It will increase his indignation to know, that this man, at the time he made the above charge, knew that the Electors of his own party were "heated with drink," given by the friends of Mr. Lamb; and, that several hundred ruffians were in a day or two afterwards hired and armed, and marshalled by the Whigs, for the perpetration of those very violences which were falsely charged upon the Reformers.*

The rain poured in torrents during the whole of the morning, a circumstance, which all those acquainted with Westminster Elections, know to be very unfavorable to the popular cause. Many of the tradesmen are fond of appearing amongst their brother Electors at the hustings; and, as they frequently make parties of twenty or thirty, and proceed in procession to the poll, a rainy day prevents many from exercising their franchise. The other side employ coaches, and, by means of the immense number of gentlemen-canvassers, bring up their forces by ones and twos: this cannot be done by the tradesmen canvassing amongst themselves; nor, do they like to solicit one another day after day, and hour after hour, a

"There was a man whose name was Hob,
He had a wife whose name was Mob;
He had a cock called Cob,
She had a cat called Chitterbob.
Cob! says Hob,
Chitterbob! says Mob;
Cob's Hob's cock,
Chitterbob's Mob's cat."

* Below is subjoined some more wit from the Chronicle of the following Wednesday, and the reader will admire not only the good joke and the good French, but the assurance with which the Whigs still continued to assert, that Mr. Hobbouse was not the Reformer; but, that their man would *pledge* himself truly to that cause. It is, however, a compliment to Westminster, that such a profession was thought a good electioneering trick.

"ON READING THE ATTACK MADE BY SIR F——E—— AGAINST THE EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE.

"Sir F——s had surely no sense in his *nob*
'Gainst the Chronicle's tenets to rail;
Since it wisely suggested his *protégé* Hob
Would be tied to a *Baronet's* tail.

"But we readily pardon the *pitiful* storm,
And look, where the Whig stands confest;
Who will *pledge* himself truly to *friends* of reform.
While *Hob* and *Nob* drink with the *rest*.

"H. K."

drudgery to which the honorable and right honorable canvassers submit with great readiness, and too much success. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were in various parts of the town this day; the banners and music were also in as much activity as the weather permitted. Notwithstanding the objection thrown out by Mr. Lamb, against these innocent arrays, the same expedient was tried by the coalition committees, and met with much the same success as Sir Murray Maxwell's trained orange bands at the last Election. The light blue flags of the Whigs, with "*Lamb and Liberty upon them*," were obliged speedily to retreat before the dark blue banners of Hobhouse and Purity of Election. Mr. Lamb canvassed personally—Sir Francis Burdett did not ask for any single vote—his presence was requested at various meetings, and he attended. Mr. Hobhouse was introduced to a few hundreds of the Electors, principally in the parish of St. Anne; but, he made no personal canvass. The activity of the coalition canvassers was unceasing. The government had not publicly declared itself, except through the Courier; but Lord Liverpool had informed the clerks, &c. of the treasury, that, if they pleased, they might vote for Mr. Lamb. Indeed, he could hardly do less. The Whigs being now, as the Chronicle professed, "*the friends of the actual constitution in church and state*;" the phrase by which the ministerial candidate has always summoned the adherents of government in Westminster.

The crowd was as great as before at the hustings and in the booths, and there was much less confusion than at any former day: for Messrs. Hunt and Gale Jones had deserted their usual post, and left to the Whigs the full enjoyment of the unpopularity which now attended the opponents of Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Lamb, with his knot of lords and gentlemen, appeared at the ordinary hour, and were received with kisses.

Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett presented themselves under the usual friendly salute from the whole assemblage.

The numbers announced, amidst loud cheerings, were:—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Hobhouse	334	2036
Cartwright	0	37
Lamb	180	2268

Mr. HOBHOUSE stepped forward. After the continued acclamations with which he was received had subsided, he said:

Gentlemen,—We have no reason to complain of any want of exertion on the part of the friends of freedom. If we may complain at all; it must be of the weather, which has not smiled upon our endeavours; but has, I am confident, prevented that which would, had the day been fine, most certainly occurred. I mean the annihilation of my opponent's majority (*loud cheers*). As it is, we

are 154 a head on the day's poll; and, are only 292 behind our enemy on the whole poll. Gentlemen, you have had, and will still, have to contend with great difficulties—with those difficulties which always occur when the sons of independence engage with the champions of corruption. (*Applause*) The exertions of your enemies are unremitting. In the various quarters of Westminster which I have this day visited, I have heard of little but the compulsion that has driven to the poll the voters, few as they are, which have this day given their suffrages to our antagonist. With these arts you are too well acquainted. You know how the renters of the great landholders are warned, whose leases may be near expiration; and, that the consequences of refusal may be somewhat embarrassing to their hopes of an easy renewal. I am happy, however, to say, that in spite of these obstacles, the spirit of Westminster rises daily; and the flattering prospect before us promises a certain victory. If I may trust to the reports of the canvassers in your cause, four fifths of the Electors may fairly be said to be inclined to support the Reformer; and are kept back only by that which unfortunately deters many an honest man from doing his duty. I mean *fear*. It is notorious, that many hundreds, I might say thousands, of your brother Electors keep back, *because they are afraid*. They are afraid of losing the custom and countenance of the great families at the West-end of the Town. (*True! True! from several voices amongst the people.*) This I assert, without fear of contradiction, to be the main engine which still works for our opponents: for, I do not believe, that there is now a single individual in Westminster, who is deceived by those delusions which, at the outset of the contest, operated in favor of Mr. Lamb. I trust that to-morrow will show the Whigs they have totally miscalculated their force in Westminster. Indeed, I am sure that that party, if standing alone against the people, would be proved totally insignificant in power and resources. The natural alliance should be between the opponents to ministers and the people—when these opponents, call them Whigs, or what you will, not only separate themselves from the people, but join their accustomed adversaries *against* the people, they neither have nor can deserve any influence. Such is the case at present, and for fear any mistake should arise as to the real existence of this unholy alliance (*here Mr. Lamb, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. James Macdonald, burst into a roar of laughter; the BLACKGUARDS (as they had been called) in the front of the hustings, and in the booths, not knowing that such interruptions were polite, and permitted by GENTLEMEN, cried, shame! and hissed and hooted violently for a minute or two*)—Gentlemen, continued Mr. Hobbouse, let me beg of you to allow the honorable candidate a laugh. The state of the poll has not permitted him to smile these two days (*loud laughing*), and, if I may judge by a certain furious

energy in his looks and manner, he has lost not only his former majorities, but his boasted good temper.—(*Laughter.*) Pray, therefore, allow him to laugh, if it is but for your own sakes: for, you will hardly wish, as you have only two candidates, that one of them should be sulky, and contribute nothing to the diversion of the day. Allow me, however, to repeat what I was saying when interrupted by the learned Whig (*here the people who thought perhaps, that Mr. Hobhouse said the LEARNED PIG; shouted with laughter,*) that the party, of which that gentleman is the organ, has commenced operations by coming forward as the professed opponents of the wishes of the people in Westminster. *They know very well, that if the Electors were fairly and freely polled without bias and influence of any kind, without a vote being asked on either side, their candidate would have no chance whatever of success.* Knowing this, they array against the people all the engines of terror and corruption, and are resolved to carry their point, though they lose whatever little character their former opposition to an unprincipled government has enabled them to obtain. But, I trust you will still be too much for the *naked* force now unblushingly employed against you. You see their menaces. I trust that you will despise—that you will confound their efforts; and that, still true to yourselves, you will maintain that high character for probity and intelligence which has for many years distinguished the Electors of Westminster, and given them an imperishable name in the annals of liberty. Do not fancy that I attach any importance to the success of the humble individual who is now addressing you, when that success is considered only with a reference to his own triumph. Far from me such vile pretensions and such unreasonable vanity. But you all, I hope, feel that I am only speaking the truth when I say, that the cause now advocated in my person, is your own cause—is the cause of that Reform, which by precept and practice it has been so long your glory to promote; and which you must now feel more than ever to be the paramount necessity of the times.—(*Great Applause.*) The country has long looked up to you. It looks up to you now: it anxiously watches your progress, and that of your cause which is common to all Englishmen. It expects that you will show by your exertions in the present arduous struggle, that you still consider Parliamentary Reform as the one thing needful—with which you can effect every thing, without which you can effect nothing.

Mr. Hobhouse here retired amidst the loudest acclamations of applause.

Mr. LAMB came forward.—Nothing could persuade the people to hear him.—“Is it your pleasure to hear me?” said he: The people *baad* and hissed violently. Mr. Lamb retired—his friends persuaded him to make a second trial—he came forward a second

time, but could not proceed. He then said, I wish you a good night, and retired with his companions from the hustings.

Mr. BOWEN came forward with a paper in his hand—he was hissed and hooted—he tried to read the paper: in vain—the people cried out.—*Be off! No turncoat! No Judas!—Burdett, Burdett!* he stood the storm for ten minutes with as much unconcern as Mr. Hunt; but, not being able to speak a word, handed over his paper to the Reporters. The Chronicle published it the next morning; but forgot to say, that not one word of it was heard. It proved to be a letter from Major Cartwright.*

When Mr. Bowen had yielded, Sir Francis Burdett was demanded by repeated shouts: he came forward, and was loudly cheered by the whole assembly.

He expressed his regret that they would not hear the Coalition Candidate. Besides having the common feeling that his adversary should have fair play, he (Sir Francis) was actuated by one of another and a more selfish kind. He was anxious that they would hear Mr. Lamb, because they must be aware of the disadvantage to which they were exposed, by not hearing arguments, which they knew they could expose and refute. They all knew that to play at foot-ball, there must be at least two persons engaged, and though he knew that they came here rather to express their feelings than to hear discussion, yet he thought that when their cause was founded upon truth and honesty, it would be right to hear their opponents.

* “Major Cartwright, conceiving his character aimed at by assertions and insinuations of Sir Francis Burdett, in respect to certain passages in his late printed Address to his Fellow Citizens, declares that, in writing the said Address, he took the utmost care not to use towards the Baronet a single expression which he could not justify.

“Since Sir Francis was reported (in The British Press) to have imputed to the Major that ‘he countenanced insinuations which, from his own knowledge, he knew to have been falsehoods of Mr. Cobbett:’ he has examined with the utmost strictness his aforesaid Address, and does not find a word he desires to alter.

“With regard to Mr. Cobbett, the Major, in p. 6, had expressly claimed to ‘stand perfectly apart from that powerful writer, whose accusations of the Baronet must stand or fall as supported or contradicted by facts and evidence.’

“Sir Francis is reported (in the same Paper) to have observed, that ‘the Major should have been above countenancing insinuations which he knew were groundless.’

“He replies, that he has NOT done it, and that HE IS above either baseness or duplicity. He therefore challenges Sir Francis Burdett to sustain his imputation by proof. The Major’s words and argument are before him.

“In the words of Mr. Cobbett, which the Major quotes, in page 7, for illustrating his own reasoning from facts, he asserts, that he is not conscious that they contain ‘falsehood.’ On the contrary, he believes them to contain much truth.

“And he refers to his Address, to convince any reader that Sir Francis has very incorrectly stated what the Major said about the Duke of Richmond, whose conduct he did indeed hold up as a salutary beacon, for warning the Baronet against splitting on the rock upon which the Duke’s reputation suffered shipwreck.

“JOHN CARTWRIGHT.”

“Wednesday, Feb. 17, 1819.”

He wished they would give Mr. Lamb a hearing, for he was a very facetious gentleman, and was put forward for their entertainment on the present occasion. He congratulated them on the state of this day's poll, and though it was not as high as might be expected, yet it still shewed that the stream of liberty was running pure, and would, he trusted, in the end, overthrow every obstacle which could be opposed to it. The poll of their adversary became every day more weak and languid. They could only rely on bringing down voters by compulsion—they could only depend on the strength which they acquired by lashing up slaves to the poll. Their opponents had this day polled all their constables; they had also polled their voters in Pall-Mall, a place where, if he was informed rightly, for he did not himself know it as a fact, there were as few free and independent Electors as were required of good men in Sodom and Gomorrah, to save these cities from destruction. —(*Great Applause.*)—He begged of the Electors, who were doomed to yield to undue influence, to consider seriously the situation in which they were placed. He also wished to remind the persons of rank who exercised in this manner the influence which their station gave them over their dependants, to consider that by influencing their humbler neighbours at the expense of their own judgments, they were in fact becoming suborners of perjury. The right of voting was a solemn duty, and the conscience of the Elector was at stake if he performed it in any manner contrary to the dictates of his own unbiassed opinion. What act of tyranny was equal to that which prompted another to commit a crime in defiance alike of all law and moral obligation? As to the miserable delusions and artifices of the friends of the Coalition Candidate, they were becoming every day more exposed and defeated. The Coalition Candidate had told them, that there was a more solid satisfaction in a breakfast, than in following banners and music; but in contradiction to this, he would say, that there was more heartfelt satisfaction in following the banners of freedom, without fear, hope, or reward, than in eating any meal which corruption could supply. There may be more solid satisfaction to a Whig and a Tory to get a place, than to act upon honest principle—but these were not the men in whom the people could place any confidence. These mock patriots may prefer solid pudding to empty praise, but they cannot be the persons whose feelings will be found in unison with those who will not give up, for the gratification of paltry ambition, the more solid satisfaction of endeavouring to promote the freedom of their country. The independent Electors, he was aware, could not be brought up to poll at any particular moment; men in trade must consult their own time and their own convenience in coming up; and he was sure they would at all events be found where they ought to be before the close of the poll. But he would recommend them to come up at

as early a period as they possibly could, that they may render their triumph more complete by effecting it sooner. The man who did his duty with alacrity, did always more than he who fulfilled it tardily. He therefore hoped they would lose no time in coming up to the poll with all possible dispatch, and thereby create a sentiment in favour of that Radical Reform which was the leading object of every honest and enlightened man. He would now take leave of them, to fulfil those personal duties which he was determined to perform on this occasion; and he hoped they would pursue the same course themselves, and not relax in those efforts which were still necessary to make their cause triumphant and complete.

Sir Francis Burdett withdrew with Mr. Hobhouse amidst the congratulations of the people.

Mr. THELWALL, in next addressing the meeting, felt it his duty to impress on them the necessity of vigorous efforts in the present contest—a contest which required the labour both of body and mind. He was aware of the ungrounded calumnies which had been thrown out against them, and the delusions which it had been endeavoured to impose on them; but they had shewn their disregard for the former, and their contempt for the latter, by adhering to their tried and faithful Representative, Sir Francis Burdett. That respectable individual had been accused of deserting his former friends. But from whom, he would ask, did that accusation come? Why, from an individual who was justly reprobated every where, and for whom they had shewn the most decided contempt. (*Applause and hisses.*) He (Mr. Thelwall) was the same in principle as he was 25 years ago; but for the principles of the other side there was no criterion. In the *New Times* there was a letter published by Hunt, in which he accused Cleary of being supported by a kept mistress, and yet for all this accusation they had coalesced, and become the mouth-piece of the Major's Committee. The argument against Sir Francis, of his wishing to make Westminster a rotten borough, was ludicrous in the extreme, indeed so much so as to require no answer. Had Mr. Lamb been a true Whig on the old principles of that body, he would not have opposed him; but he felt the case was quite otherwise. (*Applause.*) With Sir Francis Burdett he had not the pleasure of much acquaintance, but to suppose him capable of making Westminster a close borough was a task to which the fortune of the Baronet was not adequate. (*Applause.*) He would not detain them longer than merely to hope for unity of efforts and the most strenuous exertions on their parts, and then there could be no doubt of the result.

After Mr. Thelwall had concluded, the assembly broke up.

Mr. Hunt thought a speech intended to be spoken against Sir Francis Burdett, would be as acceptable to the Whigs as a letter not heard, so he transmitted an oration to the *Morning Chronicle* as

what he meant to have said, had he appeared at the hustings. The Chronicle politely declined the insertion.*

The Committee of the Reformers circulated their handbill, containing, as usual, the state of the poll, prefaced by the following address:

"REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,—The Whigs, the Tories, and the Refuse of all parties, who form the meanest and most despicable of Coalitions, have suffered another defeat.—Yesterday you dismayed them—To-day they despair.

"Continue your efforts! Come to the Hustings! Break up the foul Conspiracy against your LIBERTIES! Place HOBHOUSE by the side of your able, intrepid, and faithful Champion BURDETT!"

Mr. Lamb's address was as follows:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

"Gentlemen,—Though the numbers polled by my Opponent to-day have fallen far short of the expectations he held out, still what I anticipated in my address of yesterday has proved correct, and he has continued to advance on the poll. It now, therefore, must be evident to you, that the call then made on the Friends of real Freedom and Independence to come forward, arose from no ill-founded apprehensions, but that immediate attention to it can alone secure our victory. With exertion, with decision, and with promptitude, we have a fair prospect of success—without these the contest will still be lingering, and the issue uncertain.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

"GEORGE LAMB.

"General Committee Room,
Henrietta-street, Covent Garden."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.—NINTH DAY.

THERE were several complaints made on this day, as there had all along been, of apparent partiality on the part of the High Bailiff; but whether that gentleman was guilty or not of any actual preference of one Candidate to another, it is certain that by his decision respecting the disfranchisement of voters by the non-payment of the rates, he committed an injustice fatal to the popular cause. This decision left the Election in a manner in the hands of the rate and

* "We have received a speech from Mr. H. Hunt, which he intended to deliver yesterday from the hustings, but was prevented.—We cannot possibly give insertion to speeches not spoken."—*Morning Chronicle*, Wednesday, Feb. 24.

tax collectors,* who have established different and arbitrary rules respecting the periods of assessment in the different parishes, so that many Electors suffered not only by their poverty but their ignorance. When it is recollected that Mr. Lamb's inspectors were these very collectors hired and paid by him, and the Reformers' inspectors were volunteers, the effect of the High Bailiff's decision will be easily perceived. It is a fact that not one of the many hundred voters who were refused voting for Mr. Hobhouse on account of not having paid their rates, was without means sufficient to discharge the debt, and many of those refused were persons in good circumstances, to whom the usual application had not been made. It will be seen also, that this decision partially leaves the Election to the longest purse, and it came indeed to the knowledge of the Reformers, that poor rates were paid without any hesitation by their opponents. This had been practised by Sir Murray Maxwell's friends at the late Election quite openly. Several of those so bribed actually appeared in the Committee Room of the Reformers, with the money in their hands, and voted afterwards, by way of quieting their consciences, for Sir F. Burdett. Mr. Lamb's Committee were more discreet, but multiplied instances of their labours in the same vineyard came daily to the knowledge of the Reformers. Up to the last day of the Election, it was not precisely known what the High

* These collectors were in the former Election employed as inspectors on the hustings, for Sir Murray Maxwell; they were now employed in the same office for Mr. Lamb. A previous canvass having ascertained who the Elector was likely to vote for, no sooner was his name announced at the hustings than it was known to the collector on which side he came: if for Lamb, no notice was taken; and he was allowed to vote, however much he might be in arrears—if for Hobhouse, he was immediately objected to by the collector, if a portion of poor's-rate (for a time arbitrarily fixed upon by the collector himself) remained unpaid; and the High-Bailiff on the mere ipse dixit of the rate-collector refused his vote, i. e. disfranchised him. Some hundreds were thus disfranchised, but a much larger number not chusing to be exposed, degraded, and turned back, kept away from the place of polling. Such was the extent to which this system of disfranchisement was carried, that Electors who tendered payment with their votes were refused to be polled, and whenever any Elector had once been refused, if he went immediately and paid the rate, and returned to the hustings, his vote was peremptorily rejected.

In a great number of cases, payment was demanded for the quarter not due until the Easter following; and some who paid up to Christmas, reasonably supposing they had paid all that was due, were notwithstanding rejected.

Bailiff would admit as a general rule respecting the rates. At one time it was understood that those Electors who had been carried round to him after rejection by the inspectors, and rejected also by him, could not pay their rates and vote afterwards. At another time the contrary permission was thought to prevail. The uncertainty kept back very many voters. The hiring of the collectors as inspectors gave the Whigs the same advantage as was possessed by Sir M. Maxwell at the last Election, when 170 bad votes were polled in one day; the Reformers not having the precise means of knowing whether the pretended Electors were rated or not, and copies of the rate books not being admitted as evidence. In short, the command of money always has given and always must give a considerable advantage to any Candidate, even where is no actual legal bribery—and the total want even of the fair means of promoting their cause by publishing and printing, and conveying Electors to the poll, was added to the other disadvantages which must attach to those who oppose the court and the aristocracy in the metropolis.

Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were present at several parochial meetings this morning. But towards the afternoon, at which period the Electors in the popular cause always come to poll rather than in the hours devoted to their trades, there was a heavy storm of rain and snow which continued until after the close of the poll, and the electors in many quarters deferred coming to the hustings. This gave a considerable superiority to Mr. Lamb's partizans who flocked from the public offices, which, it being Ash Wednesday, were this day shut.

The booths and the ground in front of the hustings was thronged at the close of the poll. The immense line of umbrellas stretching quite across Covent Garden, presented a curious spectacle; but there was, perhaps, something more singular in the patience and good humour with which the thousands assembled, in spite of all partial protection, suffered themselves to be drenched with rain, for the sake of the proposed gratification.

Mr. Lamb and his friends appeared at the usual time, and the bleating and hissing continued until Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett came forward, and were received with the most unqualified tokens of applause. The poll was—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Hobhouse	261	2297
Cartwright	0	37
Lamb	390	2658

It was received in silence by the people, and by cheers from the gentlemen with Mr. Lamb. This brought down fresh bleatings, when Mr. Hobhouse came forward, and was most loudly cheered. He said—

Gentlemen—This is a bad day for us, in more senses than one, the weather has been so unfavourable as to prevent a great number of those who would otherwise have come forward in your cause, from coming to the poll. I was not aware yesterday, when I promised you greater success, that this day was a holiday at the public offices, and that of course our opponents had leisure to bring up a great array of persons in the employ of government against us. Though I was aware that our opponents had the support of government; yet, I was not sensible until the present moment, that the COALITION was so complete!

The Whig Candidate, in an advertisement published this day, appeals to the friends of *real* freedom and independence for their support. I suppose then, that as he particularly directs his exhortation to the friends of *real* freedom and independence, to come up against *you*; he means to insinuate, that you, who have so long upheld what we so foolishly call "the Independence of Westminster," have been the advocates of slavish dependence; and that your worthy Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, instead of being the Representative of the real wishes and sentiments of the Electors of Westminster, has, in fact, been returned only by the friends of false freedom and truckling dependence!

The chief merit of a Whig, must, as I suppose, consist in his opposition to Ministers. Now I wish to know on what account a Whig should at the present moment come forward to attempt to deprive you of your rights—you who since 1807, have returned *both* your Representatives, although before that period, the Whigs, by all their efforts, could hardly return *one*! I do not understand how this Whig who rests his claim to public consideration on his opposition to the views of government, can come forward against a popular cause like yours, while you are engaged in continuing your efforts to return *two* Members who would oppose that government! The time was, when, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Whigs, you were obliged to submit to have one *Cinque Port* Member, out of the two whom you returned!—You will all recollect, that Mr. Fox was obliged to have an *Admiralty* Co-partner! Why it is you are called, and by the Whigs too, the friends of *false* freedom, and not of independence, you who have rescued Westminster from this thralldom, remains for them to explain. I cannot understand, why they should object to your returning your own Representatives, freely and without interference, save and except it is, that they wish to have, as formerly, the sole nomination of one of your Candidates. I can only thus account for their objections to your returning *two* decided opposition Members; two, who, though they did not belong to the regiment, would always be found sitting and voting on the same side of the House with their Battalion.—(Applause.)

For three months past, you have been exerting yourselves to

support your independence. During that period, you presented such a face to the Court Candidate, as to drive him completely out of the field. *The Whigs gave you no assistance!* They said they would maintain an armed neutrality; that they should like to see "what sort of a battle, the Reformers would make against the Court."

I complain of their conduct in this instance to the Independent Electors of Westminster. During nearly three months exertions, you heard nothing of their intention to interfere; but, when they found you had effectually expelled the Court Candidate, they *treacherously* (I hope I do not use too strong a phrase) came forward to rob you of the fruits of your Victory. This is a plain statement of the conduct of the Whigs, without any exaggeration. I appeal to you then, to know whether it is not a fact, that at the time your efforts were exerted to support your rights against the machinations of government, the Whigs stood by and did nothing. As to the motives which impelled them to this line of conduct, I think it candid to state, that my insignificance, of which I have a proper idea, might have been some small inducement; but yet, it could only have been a *small* one; for I cannot believe, that it is against *me*, that they have put themselves in their present array. No, I'll tell you against *what* and against *whom* they direct their hostility. It is against *the paramount question of Reform of Parliament!*—Against *this* their efforts are directed, but above all, and confessedly so, to pull down the character of your great Representative, Sir Francis Burdett! Every body knows that this is the fact. *If they dared to speak the truth, this would be found their real aim and end.* I do not say they hired a man to malign his character; but at the moment the Ruffian who used to stand at that corner of the hustings, calumniated it, they showed no feelings of disinclination to hear him—*then* it was that the Whig Candidate, in mock condolence, said he was really sorry that the Honorable Baronet appeared to lose his influence with the people. I shall say nothing of the extreme modesty, delicacy and propriety of a young man, (*pointing to Mr. Lamb*) taunting you with the falling off of your favor towards your Representative. I shall say nothing of the decency that prompted him to rejoice that he was likely to be the instrument of pulling down the fame of three and twenty years public virtue and services. *He* and his friends will live to rue this intemperate triumph over the feelings of those who returned such a Representative to be the advocate of their rights—a Representative too, who was not only known in Westminster, but in every part of England, as the undaunted Champion of the People.

The Whig Party had no right to come forward here on popular pretexts, to snatch from you your independence. I have seen a banner inscribed, "*Lamb and Liberty!*" Can it be possible to

put together two more incongruous words? What the *kind* of liberty is which they destine for you, their efforts sufficiently evince! I am perpetually hearing complaints from Electors of the tyrannical influence which our opponents employ to bring voters to the poll. I know not what *they* call "LIBERTY," but I am sure you will not wish to have *your* liberties handed over to the great families at the West End of the Town, who would lord it over the people, and prescribe to you whom you should choose to be your Representative.

There is an important question which ought to have been decided before we came to the hustings; that is the question of the payment of *Poor Rates*, the nonpayment of which, according to the decision of the High Bailiff, is disfranchisement. This surely cannot be either law or reason. The present returning officer in this case acts upon his own precedents, and as I understand upon the decisions of two Committees of the House of Commons; but the Shaftesbury Case in 1812, (which is later than the two he acts upon) is contrary to those decisions. It is surely very absurd to say, that when the Collectors have an opportunity of distraining for arrears of rates, they should be invested with the power of disfranchising. It is very absurd to imagine, that the nonpayment of a debt, either to the public or an individual, should be punished with the disfranchisement of the debtor. See the state in which this places the people! The pressure of the times has in fact put it in the power of the High Bailiff to diminish the franchises of the people: so that the corruption which caused this deplorable defalcation, is to make it the means of still further oppression. That is, in fact, that they who are rendered poor and distressed and miserable by taxation, should be also made to suffer in their civil rights. The consequence of this conduct is, that by the number of Electors who have been thus disfranchised, I have lost a majority on the present poll. You ought from this very circumstance, to be more watchful whom you should return for Westminster, when you see that this decision has the effect of *restricting* your elective franchise at the moment when, in common with the whole kingdom, you are demanding an *extension* of that valuable right.*

I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous and arrogant for me to entreat that you will hear my opponent. I should have made this request earlier, but that I recollected when a friend of mine made a similar remark at the last Election, he was described by the Whigs, as being arrogant and presumptuous for making it. I shall not, however, be deterred from incurring a similar imputation, but again request that you will give my opponent a fair hearing.

* See case of Mr. Martin, App. A.

Mr. Hobhouse was, during the whole of this speech, frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause, and at its conclusion the people testified their approbation by repeated shouts.

When Mr. Lamb appeared in front, these shouts were changed for hootings from the whole assembly, except in the hustings, where he was cheered by his own friends, and received in silence by those of Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. LAMB, however, persisted, and though the opposition to him rather increased than diminished, spoke thus, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle*:—

He wished they would at least suffer the cry of Lamb and Liberty, of which his Opponent complained, to prevail in the qualified form of Lamb and Liberty of Speech. Though the last hour had been stormy, the morning had been as fine as his Opponent wished yesterday, when he told them that all he wanted to enable him to head the whole poll was a fine day. Yesterday he represented himself as short in his expected numbers, because the morning was bad—to-day, because the evening is so. So that it is impossible for the heavens themselves to please him. The poll had to-day been in his own favour, but the battle was not won. His Opponent would yet bring up numbers, which must be met by exertion on the part of his own friends. It was some days since he had been able to address them, so that he had been prevented from proceeding in the study of oratory with their attention and his Opponent's tuition, as he had promised early in the contest. However, though his Opponent had for some days had it all to himself, and had been able to advance what assertions and arguments he had chosen, uncontradicted and unrefuted, still he had not been thought entirely competent to the office of his own trumpeter.—(*Shouts of disapprobation.*) Some old instruments had been dragged forth to complete the concert of his praises. One, in particular, had played its old tunes over and over with unusual vehemence, but, though its tones were formerly highly approved here, the metal has now been thought unsound, and many of the notes false.—(*A snow-ball here saluted the speaker; Mr. Lamb caught it, and bowed.*) He had been accused by his Opponent of want of modesty in his mention of the Honorable Baronet. This, indeed, comes well from those who had employed themselves before this assembly, when they knew nobody could be heard in answer, in reviling all that has for years been acknowledged to be patriotic and praiseworthy among the living and the dead; nor could he fail to admire the modesty of his Opponent, who would represent the popularity and political eminence of the Baronet, whom he so highly panegyrised, as wholly depending on his own success in the present contest.—(*Here more noise, and cries of "No!" "No!" "He never did." "Off!" "Off!"*) He perceived how complete a mockery were the requests that he

might be heard, but perhaps it was better to be thus overwhelmed with noise, than to accept an audience of the people of Westminster as a boon from any one.—(*Noise increasing.*) As he could not make himself heard, he must bid them good night, and wish for a finer evening to-morrow.

Mr. Lamb retired with his friends.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was then called forward, and was received with even more than usual enthusiasm: he then said,—

Gentlemen,—After the eloquent speech you have just heard from Mr. Hobhouse, and in the present state of the weather (*it snowed very fast*), I should be sorry to detain you above a very few minutes. I cannot congratulate you this day on the state of the Poll. I cannot congratulate you on the success of the cause we are endeavouring to support; but I can congratulate Mr. Lamb at not being this day seen in that unseemly company in which he was placed on former days. I do sincerely congratulate Mr. Lamb, that he is without the associate who used to stand on the same plank with him. I do this with the heartfelt sincerity with which he gave me his condolence for having lost, as he was pleased to say, the good opinion of my countrymen. I think it very possible that an honest and upright man in the straight forward path of his duty, should by delusion and misrepresentation, have lost the good opinion of some of his countrymen. God forbid I should alter the course which I was convinced it was right to pursue, from any fear of losing for a time the good opinion of my constituents, because I am convinced that truth in the end must triumph, and that then the man who has suffered by temporary unpopularity will be placed higher than he was before in the public esteem—when a man's principles are founded upon honesty and truth, he need never stand in awe of any changes of popular sentiment. One of the great reasons which have induced me to stand here from day to day is to ascertain whether the fact be, that I have lost any part of the confidence you reposed in me, and also because I desire to shew you I am not afraid of any enemy who may wish to arraign my conduct. I appear here ready to explain the principles of my conduct, and to answer any questions which may be put to me, relative to the public principles which I have made the rule of my public life. I came here to day, particularly to answer the charge which was brought yesterday against me by Mr. Bowie.—(*'He is a turncoat,' said somebody in the crowd.*) I do not know any thing of Mr. Bowie, he may be a turncoat, but the charge he brought against me, is not from a turncoat, but from Major Cartwright. You would not hear the charges yesterday, but they are published this day in the Morning Chronicle. I was asked these three questions:—the First was, Why I thought the Major did not wish to be in parliament?—the Second, Why, I thought he

could not be carried into parliament, supposing he had our support?—the Third was, What charges the Major countenanced, which he was conscious were false as put forth against me in the writings of Mr. Cobbett?

As to the first question, I knew indeed that the Major had been put in nomination in three places, Nottingham, Boston, and Thetford, but I did not collect from this, and I certainly did not think, that because a man stood as a candidate, there was any reason to believe he *wished* to be in parliament: for I knew, that that honest and able man, and true and real friend of his country, Mr. John Horne Tooke, had stood on these Hustings, when he had no notion of obtaining a seat. He came here, not in the expectation of getting into Parliament, but to expose the juggles of faction, and to assert those principles of freedom, of which during his whole life, and that a long one, he had been the *honestest* and *ablest* advocate. As to the second question, it was from my knowledge of the feelings of the Electors of Westminster, and the Major's own experience of his attempt, that I thought it impossible his election could be carried: that being my opinion, as it was and is, I was bound to speak it out honestly, to those who put the question; and it ought not to be considered a want of regard for the Major, or any unwillingness to pay him the respect he deserves, that I declared, what I thought to the Electors, and concurred in the necessity of putting in nomination a Candidate, more likely to meet the general support of the Electors of Westminster, and who was a staunch promoter of our great cause.

I see in the Morning Chronicle of this day, the Major says, that I was incorrect in supposing he meant to convey an opinion that I was likely to follow the Duke of Richmond's example, and give up my opinions for a place—the Major says he only meant to place the Duke of Richmond's example before me, but not to *insinuate* that I should desert the Cause of Freedom. I give him credit for meaning only what he says he means; but when he says, that a man is not a rogue, and that he only means to say he *may* be one, the explanation is hardly very courteous. It reminds me of what Falstaff says in the play,—“If you call this backing your friends, a plague upon such backing.” The Major challenges me to put in proof of his having countenanced any of the insinuations of Mr. Cobbett, which he knew to be false. What I imputed to the Major was, that by not contradicting the statements which he knew were not true, he did to a certain extent countenance other falsehoods of that writer. Without mentioning anything that can be deemed of a private or particular nature, I only call to mind the statement of Mr. Cobbett, that I paid the expenses of the Westminster Committee, and paid all their attendance, that it was I who paid what he calls the Rump—that it was I who paid Mr. Cleary for insulting Mr. Hunt—that it was I who paid for forging a Letter, or for a

letter which was a pretended forgery. The Major *knew* all these statements to be false, Mr. Cleary was no agent of *mine*, but he was Major Cartwright's agent, and he was Major Cartwright's own private secretary at the time Mr. Cobbett said he was my agent, to carry on the intrigues of what he pleased to call the *Rump*. When the Major alluded to the statements of this writer, he might at least have said that he *knew* a part to be false, and that therefore a willing credit ought not to be given to the rest. I freely give the Major credit for being a man of honour, but, when I was attacked by him, I was bound to repel his accusation in the way that appeared to me most effectual.

One of the charges made against me in the Morning Chronicle, yesterday, is of all the various charges which have been urged, the only one to which I must plead guilty; yet, though true in the letter, it is not quite true in the meaning, which the writer wishes to convey. He says, that we have "*eaten salt together*"—his intention by using this expression, I dare say, is to insinuate that a great intimacy subsisted between the proprietor and me.—We *did* "eat salt together."—I dined with the Editor of the Chronicle *once*, and it is the only act in my life of which I am ashamed.

But, these are things of small and trifling import. Let me conjure you, as our duties advance, and as the means of compulsion which our opponents wield, begin to increase, that you will continue your exertions with unabated energy. You will not wonder if I, whose whole life has been up-hill in support of liberty, should not be disheartened. If our cause were hopeless, instead of being full of hopes, I would still continue my exertions to promote it. I should still have to say, I had shrunk from no duty which I ought to have fulfilled; and however unfavourable might be the result, that no part of that failure could be imputed to *me*. If we exert ourselves, we have every prospect of success. Wherever I have been, the feelings of the public are with us; and, I have no doubt, that in the end we shall succeed. Our voters cannot be drilled like those of our Opponents; but I have the utmost reliance they will come in time to the Poll, to secure in this great cause, the independence and triumph of Westminster, and that it will not be deserted by you, who have so justly acquired the character of being the most independent and enlightened body in the kingdom.

Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse then withdrew, amidst continued plaudits.

Mr. CLEARY next addressed the meeting, but from his severe indisposition it was impossible for him to be generally heard, notwithstanding all the attention paid to him.

He most cordially agreed with all that the Honorable Baronet had said respecting the insinuations Mr. Cobbett had thrown out, of his being paid by the Honorable Baronet for opposing Mr.

Hunt. He denied that there was any foundation for such allegations of Mr. Cobbett, and he challenged any man to prove that he had ever received a single sixpence from the Honorable Baronet for that purpose. He had been charged by Mr. Thelwall yesterday with having coalesced with Mr. Hunt, and becoming thereby the mouthpiece of the committee of Major Cartwright. He was not astonished at such a charge, and could only pity the man who was foolish enough to believe it.—(*Loud cheers.*) Never had he formed such a coalition—never had he acceded to it, and he would scorn ever to make such a mean sacrifice of principle. The letter in the *New Times*, written and signed by Mr. Hunt, charged him with being supported by a female, but he in the most unqualified manner denied that, and challenged any human being to produce the slightest evidence, or shadow of evidence, that such was the case.—(*Loud and long applause.*) Assertions of that nature were base in the extreme; but satisfied in his conscience, and before his God, that he was free from any grounds of making them, he could only say that he would treat them with that contempt which the efforts of malevolence deserved. Considering his present state of health, he would not have presumed to address them, had he not felt that by not coming forward he was subjecting himself to base imputations on his character.—(*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Jones and Mr. Hunt not having thought it advisable to appear this day, and nobody coming forward on behalf of Major Cartwright, who for several days had not polled a single vote, it was generally supposed the Major had withdrawn, and the *Times* announced it as a fact.* The meeting broke up about five o'clock.

The Reformers circulated the following hand-bill, with the state of the poll:—

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

“ Electors of Westminster!—To-day being a Holiday at all the Public Offices, the Dependents of the Government were polled against you.

“ You despise the Enemy, but in your security you suffer him to steal upon you.

“ It is not enough that you obtain a Victory at the conclusion of the Election—you should gain a Victory every day, and thus shew to the Country that the despicable and degraded COALITION to destroy your Freedom is powerless when opposed to the People's WILL.

“ REFORM is your object—your great—your only object—to promote that object place HOBHOUSE by the side of BURDETT.”

* *Times*, Thursday, February 25.

Mr. Lamb thanked the Reformers in these terms:—

“ TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

“ Gentlemen,—It is my duty to return you Thanks for your renewed alacrity in hastening to the Poll; it has again turned in my favour, but the majority is much too small to insure success against the unremitting and extraordinary efforts of your adversaries. On the Friends of REAL FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE I repeat my call. Though my opponent would deny that denomination to any but his own supporters, I cannot but consider that the trial of years has confirmed to the followers of those Patriots whose principles I profess, that title which he would arrogate to unintelligible theory and undefined innovation. All is fair before us if we speedily seize the opportunity, nor sacrifice to an over-confidence the success that an active zeal will command.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Your faithful and obedient servant,

“ GEORGE LAMB.

“ *General Committee Room,
Henrietta-street, Covent Garden.*”

The rage of the Whigs at discovering how totally they had miscalculated their popularity in Westminster, now knew no bounds, and, before they had learned the event of this day's polling, they vented it in a long letter in the Morning Chronicle, which, as it certainly came from authority, and may be supposed to contain all the charges that the Whigs can make against Sir Francis Burdett for the whole of his public career, it has been thought advisable to insert it, especially as Mr. Hobhouse alluded to it in his speech of the following day:—

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

“ Sir,—The language and conduct of the Burdettites are intolerable. (a) My objections to them are, not that they are Levellers

The reader will, perhaps, not be displeased with some observations on this Whig.

(a) He has seen what Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse have said and done during this election—and can judge for himself, whether their language and conduct had been such as not to be borne, and whether the personalities and the insults did not come from and remain with the Whigs. Mr. Lamb opened his fire at once on the day of nomination, by comparing Mr. Hobhouse to Jack Cade;

or Republicans, because such sentiments, though erroneous, may be honorable and respectable; but that they shew neither consistency nor gratitude; that they have no scruple in denouncing, not merely as defects in the system of Government, but as *personal crimes*, those very acts, which they practise themselves, and encourage when practised in their favour. (b) A person may consistently sit for a rotten Borough, and even buy his seat, and yet think that such Boroughs should be suppressed, and no seats be so close as to be bought; but what shall we say of a man, who, like Sir F. Burdett, *buys a seat* for Aldborough or Boroughbridge, obtains popularity for his conduct in Parliament, to which he is introduced *by pur-*

and his other pleasantries, such as that his opponent was Joe Miller the second, and the trumpeter of his own praises, did, we believe, provoke no parallel language from Mr. Hobhouse—to say nothing of the gross language daily published in the Morning Chronicle, both in the character of the editor, and purporting to be the *applauded* speeches of Messrs. Hunt and Jones, which they were not.

(b) What *persons* did Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse denounce?—what acts of corruption and compulsion, which they charged upon their opponents, did they practise themselves? They denounced no individuals—they did not practise one of these acts. The Whig writer, if he be rightly guessed at, has before made these random charges in private—he has been corrected in private—he is now corrected in public: he is told his assertion is false—absolutely false. Moreover, he is asked whether Sir Francis Burdett has been *consistent*, or whether the Whigs have been consistent. Read the second speech ever made by Sir Francis Burdett, it was in 1797, on Reform—does it not tally exactly with his last speech? Has he fallen away from the opinions professed by him in 1797? Have the Whigs fallen away? What says the country? What say the Whigs themselves? Lord Grey himself said that he did not hold the same opinions on Reform as formerly; but the reader may see this point settled in the “REPLY TO LORD ERSKINE,” and in the “DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE.” As for want of *gratitude*, let it be asked, did Sir Francis Burdett ever refuse his vote to the side on which the Whigs voted, whenever they were true to their own professions?—Never. The complaint is reduced to the fact, that when they, and Mr. Fox at the head of them, deserted their own principles in 1806, and incurred the contempt of the country, Sir Francis Burdett would not desert his own principles, and *share* the contempt of the country with them.

chase, and then does not satisfy himself with saying, that Reform is necessary; but broadly states, that, *rebus sic stantibus*, whoever buys or sells a seat is a rogue, and that a Boroughmonger is almost synonymous to a thief? (c) Again, he spends 80,000*l.* in a Middlesex Election—a good reason, no doubt, for saying, that another system, less corrupt and less expensive, would be preferable; but how can he, who has bought votes by wholesale, who has practised and encouraged every electioneering art in Middlesex, maintain, that the man who brings up an Elector by influence, persuasion, or interest, is a perjured wretch; and that *he forsooth*, who worked so hard to obtain a seat by such means, would disdain to accept such assistance? (d) Did no ladies in coroneted chariots canvass for him?—Many; and even some who now canvass against him. And why do they canvass against him, or, rather, his Nominee? Not merely because he pushes his opinions on Reform to extremes, (for

(c) Positively false. Sir Francis Burdett never said such a thing in his life; he, on the contrary, has often declared that he would be glad to assist in the regular purchase of a seat in parliament, in order to procure one more vote in parliament towards a reform of parliament. He has denounced the boroughmongers who profess that they wish to continue the boroughmonger system; but he has not denounced the borough proprietors as individuals, neither has he ever said that some of their nominees might not have appeared inclined to favour Reform of Parliament.

(d) Does the WHIG mean to praise the extravagance of the Middlesex Election, or to blame it? According to his own story, the Whigs encouraged Sir Francis Burdett in this effort, and assisted him; they must blame him then now, for having made in 1807 his former declaration, that he never would again spend a farthing towards the promotion of his own election; and for having acted upon it since, and having thereby contributed mainly to the new system in Westminster, to hint that Sir Francis would willingly renew the same efforts which were made for him in Middlesex, though he has given his solemn assurance that he would not; and has notoriously since that assurance never varied from that declaration, is insolent; and is insinuating that to be true which all Westminster knows to be false. If this Whig has been rightly pointed out, the same Whig said in private, that Sir Francis Burdett spent 8000*l.* on his election in 1818; and said he knew it—again positively false. Sir Francis Burdett did not spend a single shilling on that occasion, and a debt of several hundred pounds still remains unpaid.

we must grant his opinions to be to the full as variable as those of different persons in other parties) but because, after associating with public men, after accepting and loudly commending their generous support against danger and power, he suddenly, and without fresh provocation, (e) reviles them for transactions long since past, misrepresents their expressions and their conduct, and shews the greatest rancour against those, from whom he has received the greatest obligations, and towards whom he has professed the most unqualified respect. (f) He witnessed the exertions of Mr. Fox in favour of liberty—in the protection of those who had been his bitterest foes.

(e) Sir Francis Burdett's *association* with the Whigs, has been confined to opposing Ministers: he has often voted *with* them, not *for* them. When did *he accept and loudly commend their generous support against danger and power?* Was it when they joined the Minister to send him to the Tower? If he did commend them when they acted well, so much the more candid he, who knew they hated him; and so much the more base they, who pretended that such a commendation was a token of gratitude for services which they never performed. What does the Whig mean by sudden and *without provocation?* Was the sudden and treacherous starting of a Whig against the Reformers in Westminster no provocation? Did the Whigs believe that when they brought the whole force of the Aristocracy against the cause of Reform in Westminster, Sir Francis Burdett, the champion of that cause, should be so cowardly, so ungrateful to those who had supported him for twelve years, as to let that only champion stand idly by? Be it remembered that Sir Francis never uttered a word against these persons until the Election shewed they were resolved to oppose the People. Be it also remembered, that the Whigs made the first attack on Sir Francis Burdett, in the Chronicle and on the hustings.

(f) When did Sir Francis Burdett *revile* the Whigs, except for their abandonment of Reform? He spoke the truth—he never reviled them. It is the Whigs who always talk of *transactions long past*, and challenge glory for them. The Whig administration in 1806 is not so long past as the Middlesex Election in 1802, and yet the Whig attacks Sir Francis Burdett for that. Sir Francis Burdett never misrepresented their expressions; never—he never showed rancour against them; he never received the greatest obligations from them. When he expressed unqualified respect for them, it was when they behaved well. He never bound himself by the slightest tie to the party. All these charges are gratuitous and *false*.

He witnessed his noble, unaffected, and magnanimous kindness to Horne Tooke, who had spent a life in libelling him and his friends; and then, when Mr. Fox was scarcely cold in his grave, to gratify the unrelenting malignity of the same Horne Tooke, he called Mr. Fox ironically, "the best of Patriots," and asked the people of England, "what the best of Patriots had ever done for them?" (g) Time, a concurrence of opinion on some, though not on all public subjects, and one merit which he unquestionably possesses, viz. a feeling of compassion for distress, and indignation against personal instances of tyranny, gradually softened the resentment which the Whigs had naturally felt at this unjust, ungenerous, and unmanly conduct. Another crisis arose. The Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended, and the violent or visionary Reformers were magnified into a formidable party, and exposed to persecution and injustice, to suit the purposes of the Ministry, and gratify their Tory supporters? What do the Whigs? They step forward, if not with equal ability, (for where is another Mr. Fox) at least with equal carelessness of consequences, with equal generosity to those who had been uniformly unfriendly to them, and both in Lords and Commons resist the measures of their persecutors, and vindicate the Reformers as far as they can, without adopting their opinions. (h) What followed? Approbation, professions of gratitude, praises of the name of Russell, veneration for the memory of Fox, assurances of a disposition to co-operate, expressions of returning confidence,

(g) The opinion of Sir Francis Burdett respecting Mr. Fox's conduct, changed when Mr. Fox's conduct changed; and when the opinion of all England changed respecting Mr. Fox. This whole charge only amounts to Sir Francis Burdett telling the acknowledged truth, namely, that Mr. Fox, who had promised never to come into place without bargaining for the recovery of the People's rights, had come in without such a bargain, and had disappointed the People. The whole charge arises from the hatred and malice felt then, and still felt by the Whigs, that in the almost universal desertion of the Public cause, there should have been one man still true to himself and to the People; and whose solitary example stood as a reproach to their apostacy.

(h) The reader is referred to the Parliamentary Debates for 1817, to see what was the conduct of the Whigs as a party on this occasion; and what Mr. Pousonby, the leader, said of the Report of the Secret Committee; and what was their general language respecting the Parliamentary Reformers.

attend the progress of these discussions; (i) but scarcely are they closed, when the Burdett Committee begin to insinuate that one faction is as bad as another, and they, who pique themselves on not being *party men*, openly profess on the hustings, that it is better to admit a Candidate, who supports the measures they hate, provided their favourite is at the head of the poll, than to see such a man as Romilly first on the list. (j) In other words, they are ready to sacrifice a seat in the House of Commons to the idle, unprofitable triumph of one man; and yet these are the pure, abstract Patriots, who decry party, and profess to look to measures, not to men! (k)

(i) *Positively false*.—The Westminster Reformers have generally invited certain of the Whigs to their annual dinner; and whenever they acted for the People, (the Reformers) have, as part of the People, been ready to shew their satisfaction; but this they did as masters whose praise was worth having; not as slaves surrendering their opinions, and binding themselves to perpetual applause of all conduct of every kind. They do not forget that when Mr. Fox was a Reformer, and opposed the war against freedom, he had conferred a lasting obligation on his countrymen: but the Westminster Reformers, from the moment they emancipated themselves from the chains of party in 1807, have never been so base or so deceitful as to shew the least inclination again to wear them; and when the names of Russell and of Fox are made use of only to dazzle their understandings and to cheat them of the fruits of their experience, they always do, and always will, vindicate their right to a free choice of their Representatives, without any dictation from any political party whatever.

(j) *Positively false*. This alludes to Mr. Kinnaird's declaration at the late Election. Mr. Kinnaird only said that the Reformers should be true to their principles, and to the man who had so long represented them; *without looking to the right or to the left*. He never did say it was *better* to admit Sir Murray Maxwell. The fact is that the Whigs having divided more than 2000 votes with Sir Murray Maxwell, wanted also to get all the second votes of Sir Francis Burdett. They tried to do this by dispersing cards at the Reformers' Committees, by asking those who intended to vote for Sir Francis Burdett, to breakfast with them; and by every dirty electioneering art. Had they succeeded, they would have been 2000 a-head of Sir Francis Burdett on the poll, and, forgetting that they had his second votes, would have sworn that they gave him theirs, and actually brought him in.

(k) See the reason (i) why the Reformers did not ask for second

On the loss of Romilly, (who, by the bye, voted and spoke in Parliament at least *ten times* in favour of popular rights and popular measures where Burdett has spoken once) the first step taken is to publish a hand-bill, the work of Place and the Committee, in which Mr. Fox is represented as having cajoled, bought, sold, and enslaved Westminster for twenty years; and Mr. Douglas Kinnaird is said to be the only man, who can secure the triumph of freedom and purity of election. (1) Afterwards, however, an

votes for Romilly; they knew the men with whom they had to deal, and have been perfectly justified; for even as it was, though Sir Samuel Romilly had only 453 plumpers—while Sir Murray Maxwell had 2204—and Sir Francis Burdett 2308—yet the Whigs actually represented themselves as having returned Sir Francis Burdett.

(1) False again. No such hand-bill was published by *Mr. Place and the Committee*. Mr. Place having heard that Captain Maxwell was to be started, circulated a hand-bill, recommending Mr. Kinnaird. This was before any Meeting had been held, but when the Committee of Electors assembled, they resolved not to re-publish that bill, but to call for the decision of a Public Meeting before they would name any one. Mr. Fox's name was not mentioned in the bill, which was as follows:—

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.—PURITY OF ELECTION.

“ Electors of Westminster!

“ The lamented death of that excellent and illustrious man, your late representative, Sir Samuel Romilly, will again make it necessary for you to exercise the best duty of Englishmen, that of ‘ returning Members to represent them in Parliament free from personal trouble and expense to themselves, upon old constitutional principles, which declare that Elections should be free and without control.’

“ For many years, Westminster was divided between two parties,—bought—sold—and cajoled like a rotten borough. In 1807, you ‘ resolved to set a great and glorious example, in taking your affairs into your own hands,’ and nobly indeed did you accomplish your purpose. In 1812—in 1814—in 1818—you again proved to the world what Freemen could achieve.

“ At the late election, under very discouraging circumstances, you contended against bribery, corruption, venality, and profligacy. Against influence—and terror—and perjury—and over all these you triumphed.

“ The struggle can now be only with the Enemies of the People; it is the Cause of the People against a despotic and profligate Administration, seeking to destroy your liberties.

“ Westminster true to itself—true to the Country—true to the principles of Reform it has proclaimed, ‘ will not disappoint the expectations of the People,’ but will return to Parliament another Reformer in the person of the

“ HON. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD,

to fight the battles of Freedom, on behalf of that People, by the side of their intrepid Champion, and faithful Steward,

“ SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.”

assurance is held out, that a Whig Candidate may be acceptable, and some of the Whigs are injudicious enough to believe, that there is really a disposition to act in fair concert with them, and to secure their good will to Burdett, by shewing a good will to some Candidate selected from the Whigs. (m) A small junto, however, Mr. Place and his associates, settled the matter differently before hand; and Sir Francis Burdett, with all the hypocritical solemnity of impartiality, takes the chair at a meeting of his Constituents, to carry into effect the nomination of the preceding evening, and exclude the persons whose friends he had seduced to attend the meeting, with the assurance of having no fixed plan or settled Candidate to propose. Hobhouse, the nominee of his Committee, is of course the man. Sir Francis knew as certainly when he went into the room as when he went out of it, that such was to be the result, and that neither Major Cartwright nor Lord John Russell were to be given a fair chance. (n) Mr. Hobhouse was not particularly

(m) *False in every respect.* No such assurance was held out. A private letter was written by Mr. Hobhouse to Lord Holland, complaining of a paragraph in the Chronicle, in which the Reformers had been called one of the extreme factions, mentioning that Mr. Douglas Kinnaird would be proposed by the Reformers, and begging that the Whigs might attend the Public Meeting, or if they did not attend, that they might not complain of the nomination being made in a corner. Mr. Hobhouse stated that there was no inclination to make war on the Whigs then existing; but as for their wishing a Whig candidate, he positively mentioned that Mr. Kinnaird would probably be proposed.

(n) *Still more false.* The persons who resolved upon nominating Mr. Hobhouse were not a small junto: they were at that time fifty respectable tradesmen, and Mr. Place was not among them; he had nothing to do with calling the meeting, he was one of a large number, nearly 300, who joined the Committee within a few days after the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse. Not the slightest hypocrisy or partiality can be charged on Sir Francis: he was not consulted respecting the nomination. Not a soul was excluded from the Meeting. Sir Francis seduced nobody to attend the Meeting; he gave no one an assurance of any sort respecting that Meeting; he thought that Major Cartwright would be proposed; and it is a wicked falsehood to say that the friends of Lord John Russell and of the Major had not a fair chance given them. Lord John was proposed, and Mr. Wishart the proposer said, that if not accepted he would not divide the unanimity of the Meeting. Major

agreeable to the Whigs, and the manœuvre by which he was named, much less so; he was, however, a young man of some talent, who professed a warm attachment to liberty, and had good humoured manners. (o) There was, therefore, little disposition in any of the Whigs to disturb, and much inclination in some to support him; when, on the eve of the Election, without provocation or necessity, at a meeting where Burdett presided, he makes a speech full of ignorance and presumption, but yet more full of malignity. He sneers at the principles on which the Whigs have always acted, and which they still continue to profess. (p) This is not all. A long,

Cartwright had several friends in the room; and Sir Francis asked Mr. Wooler whether he had any thing to say; to which Mr. Wooler replied, he had not; and both he and Mr. T. T. Clarke were afterwards on Mr. Hobhouse's Committee. Mr. Hunt was so far convinced of the fairness at the time, that having tried Mr. Cobbett, he gave him up, and said he should support Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Wishart was also understood to have withdrawn Lord John Russell. The Meeting was so far from packed, that no more than fifty persons who formed the Committee, knew that Mr. Hobhouse was to be proposed, and it was not until late in the evening of the day before the Public Meeting, that they resolved to propose Mr. Hobhouse. So far was the Meeting from being packed, that it was called by public advertisement, and by placards, for the express purpose "OF SELECTING A FIT AND PROPER PERSON TO REPRESENT THE CITY AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER."—There were 1500 persons at least in the room. Had there been any appearance of unfairness, Mr. Wishart would not have proposed Lord John Russell. Again, was any one prevented from entering the Meeting? Was any one prevented speaking? On the contrary, the doors were open all day, and any one who chose addressed the Chair; and the vote of thanks to the Chairman passed without a dissenting voice. The writer of this Whig accusation is in this respect a base calumniator of Sir Francis Burdett and the Reformers, and he is so in the face of facts with which he is perfectly well acquainted himself.

(o) Mr. Hobhouse was *not* named by any manœuvre. The truth is stated above. What the Whig says of Mr. Hobhouse's *good humoured manners*, seems to identify the Whig with some ancient associate of Mr. Hobhouse's. Yet after this the Whigs talk of treachery and personalities as characterising the Reformers.

(p) *False*. There was a great inclination in some of the Whigs to disturb the nomination. Mr. Bennett and others did their utmost

the same Report, which the meeting had not patience to hear to an end, and which, therefore, could be of no service to their cause, is, nevertheless, deliberately printed under their sanction. Every unfair representation, every base insinuation, every coarse invective, uttered during the various divisions of the two parties for twenty years back, is there embodied, preserved, and ushered into the world, as the creed of those who support Mr. Hobhouse. (q) Since that period,

to persuade Mr. Samuel Whitbread to stand. The Morning Chronicle at the outset addressed an insulting letter to Mr. Hobhouse; and subsequently, both by its silence and by occasional paragraphs, contrived to shew the Public, that a Whig might still be started. It even puffed for Mr. Wetherall. As for the *much inclination* in some to support him—who were they? Mr. Edward Ellice was the only man of the Whigs, and Mr. Robert Gordon, if he is a Whig, who promised and gave their unconditional support. Mr. Lambton partially acceded, and wrote a friendly letter. Lord Grey did not wish Mr. Whitbread to stand; but, so far from an inclination in Mr. Hobhouse's favour, even Sir Robert Wilson, who had been brought in for the Borough by the Reformers, was afraid that if he came forward for Mr. Hobhouse he should be committed with the Whigs, and he declined even to attend at a parish meeting. As to the charge of *ignorance, presumption, and malignity*, against Mr. Hobhouse's speech on February 9, it is already before the reader, and he may judge of the propriety of the terms applied to it. Let him remember always, that the *gentlemen* who use these words, are always accusing the Reformers of scurrility and personality.

(q) The Report is here re-published. Let the reader judge if this be a true character of it. Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton had made a deliberate attack on the Radical Reformers at Newcastle; and Lord Grey, in the way he alluded to the American Caucus, particularly directed himself against the Westminster Reformers. The terms in which the attacks were made, were the strongest and coarsest. [See a *Defence of the People, &c.*] To submit to this, and to allow Mr. Hobhouse to take his seat for Westminster without answering this attack, or without showing that the Reformers were resolved to profess their principles at all times, would have been prudent in the common sense of the word; but it would have been of the greatest injury to the cause of Reform. The Reformers knew they risked Mr. Hobhouse's seat by publishing the Report; but they had chosen Mr. Hobhouse only to promote the cause of

the whole endeavour of Hobhouse and his party has been to brand the Whigs as a faction equally servile and dangerous with the Tories. Mr. Hobhouse, if he examines the present majorities, which he, no doubt, calls and thinks corrupt, will find among them many more of those who have held the principles he holds to-day, than of those who have at any period of their lives called themselves Whigs. Perhaps, without looking out of his own family, he might discover that the transition from Reform approaching to Republicanism, to direct subserviency to place and power, is at once more easy and more usual too, than from a party associated by long, hereditary principles, with English Liberty, and connected historically with all the greatest triumphs over tyranny in this country. (r) Among other themes, with which he has attempted to amuse his audience at Covent-garden, he has told them that Mr. Fox *was glad the distinctions of Whig and Tory were over*; and he quotes, perhaps misquotes, some report of a speech of Mr. Fox to that effect. (s)

Reform; and they thought that to obtain the seat by withholding the Report, would compromise that cause. They neither consulted him nor Sir Francis Burdett, nor ever showed the Report to either of them. They did what they thought their duty, at all risks. A Whig cannot conceive this.

(r) The attack on Mr. Hobhouse's father is worthy of the whole tenor of the article, and deserves remark as coming from those who deprecate personalities. But what *Reform approaching to Republicanism*, did Sir Benjamin Hobhouse ever vote for? He voted for Mr. Grey's Reform in 1797, and for no other; and he never was a Member of any of the Reform Societies. So then Mr. Grey's, and Mr. Fox's, and Lord Holland's Reform in 1797 and 1798, *approached to Republicanism*!—and the man who says this, signs himself a Whig. The assertion that there is any party in this country *historically connected with all the greatest triumphs over tyranny* is historically false. As for the Whigs, they are historically connected with most of the triumphs over liberty.

(s) As Mr. Hobhouse made a remark on this sentence in his speech the next day, it will be the less necessary to say any thing on the base injustice of it. But to say that Mr. Hobhouse *perhaps had misquoted* when the Whig, by looking at the Parliamentary History, could have seen that he had *not* misquoted; and when probably he knew that Mr. Hobhouse had not misquoted, is a mixture of fraud as well as insolence, which none but the writer of such an article would have dreamt of employing even at an election.

"It is easy to make assertions before an audience determined to listen to no reply; but Sir Francis Burdett, who is old enough to remember Mr. Fox, must know that he never uttered, never could utter, such a sentiment. How could he, in 1797, deride the name of Whig, and then preside at the *Whig Club*, and in moving the *Sovereignty of the People* as a standing toast of that assembly, deliver one of the most ingenious, and, perhaps, the most precise and elaborate speeches he ever made, to prove that the *Sovereignty of the People* was the key-stone of Whiggism, and that all the toasts of the Club were inseparably connected with it? Again, in a letter printed in Lord Holland's preface to his Historical Work, he says, that he 'would shrink from no labour,'

"Non adeo hinc exosa manus victoria fugit
Ut tantâ quicquam pro spe tentare recusem."

"to re-establish a Whig party in this country;" and, indeed, throughout his history, and especially in a passage relating to the taxation of America, he shews his fixed opinion, that the distinctions of Whig and Tory were not merely casual party badges, but fundamental and permanent differences, resting on opposite views of the origin and nature of Government. As long as some men formed the right of Government on the will and interests of the people, and others on authority and indefeasible right,^(t) so long the differences on which these parties act must subsist; and as long as the form, frame, and character, of the English Constitution are maintained, so long the parties acting on these opposite principles, whatever be their names, must be essentially *Whig and Tory*.

"To conclude—I sincerely wish Sir Francis, who is not deficient in talents of speaking, nor destitute of some just topics of self commendation, could meet his Whig opponents before an audience of his Electors. When I say audience, I mean the word in its strict sense, an assembly that would hear. Let Sir Francis compare his own exertions with the merits of such Whigs as Fox and Romilly. Let him take the leading questions, in which great principles of civil and religious liberty have been involved, and look to his own conduct and that of the Whigs upon them; or, let him compute the

(t) The distinction here attempted to be made is absurd—there is now no party in the country which maintains the doctrine of indefeasible right; the Whig knows this, but he thinks his readers may not: if the Whigs were honest, they would join with the people to procure the substance, PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, and not pretend to be fighting with the shadow, INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT.

victories he has obtained for the people, and those accomplished by the Whigs for the last thirty years. By such a parallel let the merits of the respective parties be tried, and no Whig will shrink from the verdict. (u)

"The only recommendation of Mr. Hobhouse is, that he professes the principles of Sir F. Burdett. The only recommendation of Mr. Lamb is, that he has adopted those of Lord Somers, Sir George Saville, Mr. Fox, and Sir S. Romilly. Let the Electors understand these principles, and we are not afraid of the issue of the contest. (x)

"A WHIG."

(u) Without this appeal, without Sir Francis Burdett becoming the herald of his own merits, which he is never inclined to be; and without the Whigs detailing theirs, which they are always inclined to do; this question has been already settled by the Country at large, which has no confidence in the party, and which seldom lets slip a single opportunity of shewing its attachment to Sir Francis Burdett. What *are* the victories which the Whigs have obtained for the People in the last thirty years? One great benefit they have unwittingly conferred on the People, that is, by shewing them not to put their faith in parties; and Sir Francis Burdett, by teaching them the same great lesson, has founded his claims to national gratitude upon a basis, which Time shall not destroy, but daily establish and confirm. For their other great victories, see—"REPLY TO LORD ERSKINE" and "A DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE."

(x) This conclusion is befitting the whole article. That Mr. Hobhouse is attached to the principles of Sir Francis Burdett is *not* the sole recommendation with which he presents himself to the Electors. Mr. Hobhouse has already made some sacrifices in the cause of liberty—he has dared, in the face of triumphant tyranny, in despite of the scorn and the abuse of the advocates of the present system, in opposition to the opinions and wishes of those to whom he is bound by every tie of blood and also of affection, to the manifest destruction of such views of advantages and promotion as from his condition he might fairly have entertained, he has dared to record his opinion, that victory itself cannot give a colour to injustice—and that the conquest of France is to be deplored, as having established a precedent which may be fatal to the liberties of mankind. It is true, that the Gentleman who seconded Mr. Lamb's nomination joined the Court sycophants who have decried the Author of the Last Reign of Napoleon, as a traitor to the glories

of his country; but the Gentleman took his cue from the Quarterly Review, he would have found a different account in the Whig journal. Without considering the ability, the moral courage, of this effort in behalf of freedom, should not be reckoned for nothing; nor would the Whigs have reckoned it for nothing if they had had to propose Mr. Hobhouse as a candidate of their own choosing. Besides, it is easily to be seen, that the *Whig* forgets that Mr. Hobhouse might fairly take some credit to himself, and expect it to be acknowledged even by the Whigs, that by the assiduous exertions of three months, he had assisted in driving the Ministerial Candidate from the field. This fact certainly must make some slight difference between his pretensions and those of Mr. Lamb, who, as far as he is concerned with the People of Westminster, is known only as "the harmless tool of other's hate," being, according to the confession of the Whigs themselves, neither more nor less, than a candidate put forth in a hurry, and in a moment of irritation, for the sake of showing that the Whigs were resolved at all hazards, to resent a supposed injury. As to the names, here introduced to form an equipoise to that of Sir Francis Burdett, and as a make-weight to Mr. Lamb, it is to be wondered at that the Whig has been so considerate as to stop with Lord Somers: but it is not for the sake of an idle pleasantry that it is affirmed, that all these great names put together, are not worth one fig in comparison of that of "James Macdonald, Chairman," whose signature was a signal that the Aristocracy had resolved to make the same effort for Lamb as had been made for Romilly. The real distinction between the two Candidates, independently of their personal merits, is this—that Mr. Hobhouse was recommended by a very great majority of Electors of Westminster at a Public Meeting, and that Mr. Lamb was recommended by the Club in St. James's Street. On the one side are the People, on the other the Party. But these are the living Whigs; as for the dead ones, we will throw them into the bargain.

Such were the reflections suggested by reading this article signed *a Whig*, which Whig was confidently given out at the time, and is still considered to be no less a man than Lord Holland. His Lordship, if his Lordship it was, took an active part, by the proxy of his Lady and his Steward, in promoting the return of Mr. Lamb; and, perhaps, will be pleased at finding his new anti-reform principles transcribed from the fugitive columns of a newspaper, to a more stable record of the late Election. To the Election it is now time to return.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26.—TENTH DAY.

THE polling proceeded very languidly this day. Mr. Lamb maintained his majority. The numbers were:—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Lamb	292	2950
Hobhouse	248	2545
Cartwright	0	37

Nothing remarkable occurred before the hustings, except that Mr. Francis Armstrong, a gentleman said to be deranged in his intellect, in a fantastic dress and decoration, placed himself opposite to the quarter of the hustings where Mr. Hunt usually stood, and made a vehement harangue in praise of Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Hobhouse, together with Sir Francis and Mr. T. T. Clarke of Middlesex, appeared on the hustings at the usual hour. Mr. Lamb, with Mr. Lambton, Mr. Wishart, and other gentlemen, came about the same time. Mr. Hunt this day reappeared, and was violently hooted. When the numbers were announced, Mr. Hobhouse came forward amidst the accustomed plaudits, and spoke in substance as follows.

Gentlemen,—We are, I understand, only forty-four below our opponent on the day's poll, and I believe that, on examination, it will be found his greatest majority has been in the parish of St. George, and that in two or three other parishes we have had the majority, and in the rest an equality, or nearly so, with him. It is easy to account for his majority this day. You know that the extraordinary exertions of our antagonist still continue with unabated fervour, and that the greatest efforts are likely to be made by his friends until the end of the poll. I hope, by degrees, Gentlemen, his means will diminish, and that his friends will at length be ashamed of the measures to which they resort to insure his success. I have been this day assured by a most respectable tradesman, that he had made up his mind to give me his vote, but that a customer, a man of rank, a Member of Parliament, came to him, and, forced him into his coach, and dragged him up to the poll to vote for my antagonist*—(cries of "*Shame,*" and "*Name the man.*")—I cannot name him,

* This was one among many of the instances of undue influence used during the Election; the Elector alluded to was not in circumstances to refuse compliance with the demands of a customer, who had the means of ruining him, and who told him explicitly he would do it; the customer was not a Whig, and the words of the Elector were:—"I voted against my conscience." Lord Erskine, in his "*Defence of the Whigs,*" says: "it is not corruption in enlightened men who can clearly see the interests of their country, to use their influence with persons less qualified to investigate these subjects." This is the common cant of both the parties.

Gentlemen, for it would be his ruin.—(*“Well, name the Member.”*)—I cannot do that, for it would be as equal a designation as the other, and would expose him to the same consequences. But this tradesman, Gentlemen, pledged himself to me that, for the purpose of trying in some degree to repair the violence he had offered to his own conscience, and the injury he had done to our cause, he was determined to make exertion among his friends to secure for me their votes—(*Applause.*) This is not the only course that has been resorted to by our enemies. It is acknowledged that the reign of terror has commenced in Westminster, and that efforts are now making for our opponent, which far exceed any ever before made at a contested Election in this City. I am sorry that you did not hear Mr. Lamb yesterday; I am also sorry that he should have said, as I find by the Papers he did say, that my appeal to you to hear him was a *mockery*; and still more sorry that he should have said, *“Perhaps it was better to be thus overwhelmed with noise, than to accept an audience from the people of Westminster as a boon from any one.”* I told you yesterday, when I made the request of you to hear him, that from my experience of the reception which a similar request met with at the last Election, I expected little credit for my candour. But what does he mean when he says my appeal was a *mockery*? Does he mean to say that I have placed any of you there to interrupt his speeches? I ask any of you who hear me, whether this is or is not a fact? If it be not a fact, why did he designate my appeal to you as a *mockery*? I ask him, then, why he designates that which I think to be the ebullition of popular feeling as an act induced by any arrangement of mine? To send forth this aspersion he had of course his object: it tells for him at a distance, by disseminating the notion that he does not receive fair play. In looking at the record of his speech in the Public Papers, I find that he charges me with being the *trumpeter* of my own praise. Have I made use of any expression to you which entitled me to this reproof? Have I made use of any unbecoming expression in any of my speeches to you? I am not capable of such indelicacy. I have as little used any unbecoming expressions with regard to myself as I have resorted to any harsh epithets respecting my antagonist. Surely, you must recollect that I told you a day or two ago, how very low I stood in my own esteem. I told you I was inferior even to Mr. Lamb—(*loud laughter.*) Mr. Lamb also said that I was not satisfied with being my own eulogist. He says that some old instruments have been dragged forth to complete the concert of my praises? That one, in particular, has played its old tunes over and over with *unwearied vehemence*; but though its tones were formerly highly approved here, the metal has now been thought unsound, and many of the notes false. This old instrument that is brought into play, this instrument, the metal of which is so unsound, and tones false,

is no other than Sir Francis Burdett. I told you from the beginning what was the object of this Coalition, and that it was to pull down the character of Sir Francis Burdett. I told you so yesterday, and in consequence of what I said, Mr. Lamb, instead of giving you a denial of that fact, gives you the most striking proof that my conjecture was right, and that the object of their hostility is Sir Francis Burdett—(*Applause.*) Mr. Lamb has also told you that I have made the political eminence of Sir Francis Burdett depend on my success in this cause. This is a paltry misrepresentation. I never said this, for I knew that the high character of your distinguished Representative was superior to the attacks of petty malignity, and that the only party which could suffer from such attacks was the party from whom they emanated—that party which have made themselves the panders of the grossest falsehood and malignity. Mr. Lamb has also charged me with *reviling all that has for years been acknowledged to be patriotic and praiseworthy among the living and the dead*. This is another unfounded and ridiculous charge. Whom have I reviled? Nobody. The extent of my offending is merely that I said the great champion of the Whigs, Mr. Fox, was the advocate of Radical Reform—aye, and the inventor of the term “Radical Reform,” that very plan of Reform which the Whigs of the present day are disinclined to hear even mentioned. When I first quoted Mr. Fox’s sentiments, an attempt was made to deny them?—but this attempt was soon dropped, for his words were on record, and could not be denied. But not content with having made one refuted charge as to opinions long recorded and never before denied, the Whig paper of yesterday has renewed a similar attack, and has inserted an article abounding not only in the most virulent personalities, of which I had sooner be the object than the author, but also in many statements, which from my personal knowledge I can affirm, and do here affirm, to be false. After charging me with “ignorance and presumption, and with more malignity” than either—terms decent and becoming, to be sure, in the mouths of these *gentlemen*; but which were I to use against my opponent, would overwhelm me with every species of opprobrium: after these and similar civil phrases, the Whig (for so he signs himself, for fear he should be believed), (*loud laughter*) writes thus:—

“Among other themes with which he has attempted to amuse his audience at Covent-Garden, he has told them that Mr. Fox was *glad the distinctions of Whig and Tory were over*, and he quotes, perhaps misquotes, some report of a speech of Mr. Fox to that effect. It is easy to make assertions before an audience determined to listen to no reply; but Sir Francis Burdett, who is old enough to remember Mr. Fox, must know that he never uttered, never could utter such a sentiment.”

Now, Gentlemen, let me beg of you to consider the remarks of this ingenuous Whig, and to listen to my simple comment upon them. In the first place, then, I never did say that Mr. Fox said he was "*glad the distinctions of Whig and Tory were over.*" I repeated Mr. Fox's words, namely, that by acceding to Reform, the parties in parliament had, that is, would have "*given a death-blow to the miserable distinctions of Whig and Tory.*" Let me, Gentlemen, request you next to observe the words,—"*he quotes, perhaps misquotes, some report of a speech of Mr. Fox.*" Is this common honesty?—is it allowable even in electioneering controversies? Why did this Whig say, that perhaps I had *misquoted*? Before he made this charge, it was his duty to see whether I *had misquoted*; and this random blow does not shew my heedlessness, but his unfairness. The fact is, I am persuaded, that this Whig *knew* I had *not* misquoted: he would of course look at the report of the debate which I had specified, were it only for the sake of catching me in an error; and when he did look at that debate, he would see that I had copied words, not found, as he says, in some report, but in all reports of Mr. Fox's speech on Mr. Grey's motion for Reform in 1797. The whole of the sentence runs thus:—

"We had conquered ourselves—we had given a generous triumph to reason over prejudice—we had given a death-blow to those miserable distinctions of Whig and Tory, under which the warfare has been maintained between pride and privilege; and through the contention of our rival jealousies, the genuine rights of the many had been gradually undermined and frittered away."

Why, then, does this candid writer say, that perhaps I have *misquoted* that which he must have known I had exactly quoted?—why but to charge me with the habitual fault of falsifying documents for my own purposes? Had he a right so to charge me upon such grounds? Have not I a right to charge him with falsely aspersing my character, merely for the sake of proving that his idol, Mr. Fox, was never at any time inconsistent in his language. But the Whig says, that Sir Francis Burdett knows that Mr. Fox never used such words. This is a very pleasant assertion indeed. Let Sir Francis Burdett answer for himself, and let us hear whether he will help out this Whig in proving his negative, which, after all, is backed by no other evidence than the improbability of Mr. Fox using different language at different times. It is my firm belief, that the report is a correct one; at any rate I have not misquoted it; and the Whig who insinuates that I have so done, will, after this specimen of his probity, not command, I should hope, much credit for the remainder of his charges against me.

No, Gentlemen! I never have misquoted, I never will misquote, any body; but if you want to see a singular instance of what some

gentlemen think fair and honorable, when judged by the standard of party morality, you will see it in this same Whig journal, which contains the following paragraph:

Extract from Mr. Hobhouse's Speech:—"Sir Francis Burdett is a Mushroom, and I am another Mushroom, brought up under the wing of the former Mushroom."

THE MUSHROOM AND TOADSTOOL,

A FABLE.

A Mushroom and Toadstool just rearing their head,
Had been crush'd by the foot of a Lamb as he play'd:
"I've a Friend," says the Mushroom, "the Poll shall attend,
"He's a Barber will make that Lamb's hair stand on end."

Fol de rol, &c.

"Shall you," says the Toadstool, "I speak it with tears,
That have grown on that sod for these twenty-three years,
Feel a foot that, till Saturday last, I'll be sworn,
Never set its damned print in this meadow before?"

Fol de rol, &c.

"Then come to the Poll; and upon the same tree,
(As *LITTLE HUNT* sings so sweetly, to please you and me),
Like two Peaches together we'll lovingly cling;

"But take me, dear Mushroom, first under your wing."

Fol de rol, &c.

Now, Gentlemen, as for the poetry, I can very readily allow the party to call me by any name which affords them such a notable opportunity of displaying their wit and humour; but I must beg, as I allow them the benefit of all their abilities, that they will not make me responsible for the nonsense of another man, and for the sake of shewing a capacity for pleasantry, which is notoriously peculiarly their own, impute to me a trait of stupidity, which is no less notoriously not my own. The words of my speech thus quoted, should have had prefixed to them, *Mr. Northmore has been pleased to say*, that Sir Francis Burdett is a mushroom. Thus, Gentlemen, you remark, that the Chronicle, which charges me with *misquoting*, has, by leaving out half a dozen words, imputed to me not only trash which never dropped from my lips, but which I had actually laughed at, as coming from another person, and which I now see, by a letter in the same Chronicle, was, after all, only a misreported expression, not used by any body at all.—(*Cries of shame, shame, and bravo, Hobhouse, give it the Whigs!*). Such, Gentlemen, are the arts and arms with which I have been and shall be assailed; but I throw myself on the public for protection—I throw myself on the impartial part of the press for protection—I appeal to those to whom such an appeal was never made in vain.—(*Enthusiastic applause.*) I do not feel and shall not affect an indifference to public opinion. I have no other wish in this world than to obtain the esteem of my fellow-countrymen; and I am the more anxious to

obtain that esteem, because the usual sources of reputation are for me dried up for ever. The favour of princes, the protection of parties, are as far beyond my reach as they are beyond my desire. I have nothing to expect but such persecution as may be thought sufficient to crush any puny efforts, and such impartial proscription as awaits all those who, in the divisions of party, subscribe to no sect, and presume to have an opinion of their own. I feel that I do not deserve the epithets which have been attached to me; did I deserve them, I should not have the audacity to pretend to public favour; and I am confident that the time will come, when even my present accusers will repent of the unmerited attacks, and will do justice to my character and to your cause.—(*Great applause.*) The present effect of such calumnies will, I trust, be not injurious to those against whom they are levelled, but will rather recoil upon those who have aimed the insidious blow.

I shall conclude by saying, that the state of the poll gives us no reason to despair: it is true, that we are four hundred behind; but I have no doubt that our antagonist will finally fail in his attempt to triumph over the independence of Westminster.

Mr. Hobhouse retired amidst continued plaudits: his speech, particularly the latter part of it, as the *Times* was fair enough to observe, was delivered with great feeling, and produced a considerable effect. It is remarkable that the *Chronicle* professed not to give a report of it; saying, that he was prevented by a debate in the House of Commons; and it may be presumed that Mr. Hobhouse's answer to the *Whig* was too clear and plain even for distortion. The *Chronicle* found time to give a speech of Mr. Hunt's verbatim the same day.

Mr. LAMB came forward, but the people would not hear him. His speech in the *Chronicle* was as follows:

Notwithstanding the predictions (said Mr. Lamb) of my opponent two days ago, the poll has continued, and the *Whig* majority, in place of being extinguished, has daily increased. To-day, instead of the annunciation of victory, he has told you, that he sees no reason for despair. Mr. Hobhouse has told us of the commencement of a reign of terror in Westminster: I can only recognise one proof of its efficacy—it appears to have converted a portion of the auditory before the hustings into a flock of sheep (alluding to their bleating wherever he presented himself). I see it is useless for me to persevere. The many liberal persons who are inclined to hear every person, will excuse me; I therefore retire, wishing you all good night.

Mr. Lamb and his friends then retired. Sir Francis Bardett and Mr. Hobhouse also withdrew.

Mr. HUNT then presented himself, but no description can con-

vey an idea of the various notes and tones of indignation with which he was assailed; but Mr. Hunt persevered, and what he said was thus recorded:—

Gentlemen,—*The Morning Post* of this day says, it is sorry for my absence from the hustings; and *The Times* tells you, that I am canvassing in all the public-houses for Major Cartwright. Now I never canvassed for any man in my life, not even for myself. Mr. Hobhouse congratulated Mr. Lamb yesterday, on not standing upon the same plank with me; and Sir Francis told you he came there to face his enemies. Now I came here to-day for the very same reason.—(*Great uproar.*) I know I cannot be heard by you all, as there is a party here hired to cry me down. The Baronet told you yesterday, that he had once dined with Mr. Perry, and it was the only act of his life of which he was ever ashamed. Why was he ashamed of it? What carried him there, except to try and come to terms with the Whigs? Did he not twice attempt to get admission to the Whig Club, and was he not twice black-balled? This accounts for the Baronet's hostility to the Whigs—this explains every thing. Somebody says I am a friend of Lord Castlereagh's. That's very odd, for I never had the pleasure of speaking to his Lordship but once, and that was on these hustings, during the last election. I am glad to see you getting into a better humour; I hope you will be still more so to-morrow, when I mean to have the pleasure of seeing you again. I am not connected with either of the parties, Whig or Tory—I am for the Purity of Election, and three cheers for the Old Major.

It appeared then that Major Cartwright had not withdrawn. Indeed another gentleman now came forward on the same side as Mr. Hunt.

Mr. PETER WALKER rose amid a continued uproar. He said that he was well aware his voice would be drowned in any attempt to obtain a hearing. He knew that the individuals who made this clamour were not electors. When violence arrayed itself against such a man as Sir Samuel Romilly, during the last contest, what but a continuance of the same violence could any man expect who stood forward there on the principles of Mr. Fox? But the interruption was only the impotent venom of their opponents. He was sorry that Sir Francis Burdett had allied himself to that distorted monster, the Rump—than which there could not be a more hideous sight.—(*The uproar still continuing, Mr. Walker withdrew.*)

It may be remarked, that if Mr. Walker chose to call a large body of the electors of Westminster by a name taken from Mr. Cobbett's dictionary of the vulgar tongue, it was no wonder that he did not give himself a fair chance of being heard. His charge of violence being arrayed against Sir Samuel Romilly at the last elec-

tion needs no comment. When wounded vanity seeks for consolation in a falsehood, no comment is needful.

The people retired from the hustings about five o'clock.

The Reformers issued the following hand-bill.

"WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

"Electors of Westminster!—The poll is drawing to its close. Another glorious victory is within your power.—Your enemies—your Whig and Tory enemies—are formidable in their craft and in their corruption.—That you despise their power is but too clear, for you are lulled into a security, which if continued, may be fatal.—Arouse yourselves in time! Your freedom, your Honour, your Independence, the character you have maintained for the last twelve years, may all be lost while you are preparing for action!—Come forward instantly, and record your Names among those who are exerting themselves to maintain them.

"The Voice of BURDETT is a host in argument, but it reckons only for One at the Poll like each of yours. Follow his example. Inscribe your name with his for HOBHOUSE."

Mr. Lamb's advertisement varied little from that of the day before; but in consequence of the repeated insinuations at the hustings, that the contest was between the aristocracy and the people, it was thought expedient to shew that Mr. Lamb had also independent tradesmen in his interest. Accordingly the following advertisement, calling a meeting of the Electors of St. George's parish, was inserted in the papers of this day, and placarded.

"WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—We, the undersigned TRADESMEN of the PARISH of ST. GEORGE, Hanover-square, wish to remind our Fellow-Citizens, that in this Parish alone there are a sufficient number of unpolled Voters to decide the pending contest. Desirous that this City should not become a Borough of Sir Francis Burdett's, and the rallying point of the doctrine of Universal Suffrage, we invite you to meet us at Molloy's Coffee-House, New Bond-Street, THIS EVENING, at seven o'clock, to concert effectual measures for placing Mr. LAMB immediately in such a situation on the Poll, that his Election cannot be endangered by any number of Voters to be brought up by his opponents in the three last days.

Peter Lawrie, Oxford-street	Edw. Orme, Bond-street
John Williams, Conduit-street	W. and S. Summers, ditto
Benjamin Nicoll, ditto	John Martin, ditto
Charles Smith, ditto	Chas. Grierson, ditto
Wm. Storey, Mount-street	Thomas Chapman, ditto

John Rodwell, Bond-street:
B. Whippy, North Audley-st.
John Tribe, South Molton-st.
Henry Elsegood, Park-street

John Robinson, Curzon-street
J. Thoregood, South Molton-st.
John Share, Curzon-street
James Watkins, ditto."

The meeting was to be held at a house which had been open for Sir M. Maxwell's Committee at the last election; and the principal names, particularly that of Mr. Whippy, the saddler, were those of individuals who had been most active in favour of Sir M. Maxwell. The reader will smile at remarking, that Mr. Lamb's friends having gained all that was to be gained by saying that Mr. Lamb was for extending the suffrage, and Mr. Hobhouse for curtailing it, now took up the other pretext, and accused Mr. Hobhouse of being an advocate for universal suffrage; but the scheme totally failed. The friends of Mr. Lamb found, that even in St. George's parish they could not trust to any thing like a publicly convened meeting, and that they had better continue to work by private influence and individual canvas. The majority of the Electors who attended the meeting were Reformers: they put and carried counter-resolutions, and Mr. Lamb's friends were totally disconcerted here, as they had been in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John. Nevertheless, there appeared certain resolutions in the Morning Chronicle of the next day, as if passed by a *very numerous and most respectable meeting of tradesmen*. These resolutions, in a more pointed way than the advertisement, charged Mr. Hobhouse with being an advocate of Universal Suffrage.* This was calculated for the meridian of St. George's, Hanover Square.

"* At a very numerous and most respectable Meeting of the Tradesmen of the Parish of St. George, Hanover-Square, convened by public advertisement, for the purpose of securing the Election of the Honorable GEORGE LAMB,

"The following Resolutions, moved by Mr. Charles Smith, and seconded by Mr. Grierson, were agreed upon:

"1st, That it is for the character and honour of the Tradesmen of this Parish, to take an active interest in the result of the pending contest.

"2d, That the question at issue appears to us to be, whether the vast proportion of the Electors of Westminster, who are hostile to the principle of Universal Suffrage, shall or shall not have One Representative in Parliament.

"3d, That there remain in this Parish more than sufficient votes unpolled to secure to us a Representative on Constitutional Principles.

"4th, That we will each individually contribute our utmost exertions to urge to the Poll on the four remaining days, those who, from an over-security, have hitherto considered their vote unnecessary; and to awaken to a sense of the importance of the Contest those who have hitherto been indifferent.

"PETER LAWRIE, Chairman.

"Resolved, That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman for his impartial conduct in the Chair."

Yet, notwithstanding these Resolutions, Mr. Lamb in his advertisement made a slip, and told the fact, namely, that his friends were outvoted in the meeting. But he did not tell the fact when he talked about numbers; there was no number:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26.—ELEVENTH DAY.

Nothing occurred worthy of notice. The polling was very languid. This had been expected by the Reformers, whose numbers never come up at the end of the week; but it was a matter of surprise even to the Reformers themselves that so few had voted for Mr. Lamb, considering that Sir Murray Maxwell had polled 4,800, and that those most active for Sir Murray were now at work with those most active for Sir Samuel Romilly, in behalf of the Whig candidate.

The multitude assembled before the hustings and in the booths was as large as usual, and, as usual, no disturbance of any kind ensued. Mr. Hunt did not appear. The respective candidates came to the hustings a little before four. The numbers polled were,

	Polled this Day..	Gross Poll.
Lamb	301	3251
Hobhouse	282	2827
Cartwright	0	37

Mr. Hobhouse was loudly applauded when he came forward, and addressed the electors as follows:

Gentlemen,—Your adversaries have advanced only *nineteen* upon the poll of this day.—(*Great applause.*) I cannot but consider this, as a very small majority. I esteem it as a token of the little success, which will await all their efforts at the close of the poll. I feel assured that the Electors of Westminster will not suffer themselves

the parishioners were invited, as above, to attend the meeting—it was an open meeting. The Reformers at the St. James's meeting moved Counter-Resolutions, and the Chairman abruptly quitted the Chair, which he was politely requested not to do.

“ TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

“ Gentlemen,—The close of the Poll is fast approaching, but our adversaries have yet a last effort to make. Let me forewarn you, that effort will be desperate, and will call for all our resources to counteract. The conduct that has been pursued by my opponents is unprecedented in any former Election; they have intruded organized bands into every meeting of my Friends, for the purpose of impediment and tumult; and for many days, from the vantage ground of an exclusive audience on the hustings, have disseminated unchecked misrepresentations and calumnies; still I confidently relied on the firmness and justice of the Electors of Westminster, that they would not be overawed, or yield belief to vehement assertion, untried by the test of free discussion. The state of the poll satisfactorily proves that I was justified in that reliance. When first I offered myself to your notice, I stated my principles, correctly, but distinctly, and all the studied harangues of my adversaries have been unable to impeach their clearness of truth. The Victory is not won, but it is in our power; let but those who have already declared themselves favourable to the cause I represent, hasten to the Poll, and the continuance of all the exertions of our opponents will be unavailing.

“ I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your very faithful Servant,

“ GEORGE LAMB.

“ General Committee Room, Feb. 27th.”

to be cheated of their best privilege ; notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts of a coalition, more unprincipled, perhaps, than has ever disgraced the annals even of the Whigs themselves. The history of that party, in these latter years at least, is a history of the combinations to which they have consented, for the express purpose of partaking the favours of the crown. They have never stood by the people for the sake of liberty, when, by reconciling themselves with the enemies of the people, they could attain to power. Such was their conduct when they coalesced with the Tories under Lord North—with that man whom, on the altar of public faith, they had repeatedly sworn they would pursue even to the death. The same sacrifice of their principles did they make, to please and accommodate themselves to the Tories under Lords Grenville and Sidmouth ; and you may remark, that in each of these celebrated coalitions, it was not the Tories who lost any character, for they had made no surrender of their opinions. As, then, there was evidently much public indignation attached to these unions, it is clear that the anger of the people was reserved exclusively and justly for *the Whigs* ; for those who abandoned every important point which had for years been the pretended object of all their opposition to the court.—(*Applause.*) Such is the case at present. What they before did to obtain direct ministerial power, they now do to increase their influence in the country, and to satisfy their inordinate passion for undue control. They are now shaking hands, in the face of the metropolis, with those very persons, whose principles they have so long decried, and whose characters they have so long reviled. The same judgment has been passed on this coalition, as on the former conspiracies against the people. No new odium can be attached to the Tories, for they now do what they have always done, and boldly ; but the public hatred is directed against the Whigs, who now do, and treacherously, that which they have made the theme of repeated reproach when done by others. Gentlemen, it is sufficient for you to see this coalition, in order to be convinced that the candidate who represents the union cannot be the candidate for you ; he must have made certain stipulations, to satisfy your natural and declared enemies, which should disqualify him for your friendship. You recollect the activity with which it was at first attempted to secure your votes, by professing a sincere friendship to an extensive Reform. But we now hear no more of that topic, and I see that the Electors of St. George's parish, in the interest of Mr. Lamb, are now sounding the alarm against Reform, and attempting to frighten the Electors by the bugbear of universal suffrage. But I trust that you will understand this artifice more clearly than the former deception. I trust that the majority of the Electors will insist upon Mr. Lamb following up his former professions by some explicit asser-

rations. You are too experienced in the fair promises of candidates to be deceived by general declarations in behalf of liberty. The Westminster Electors have long decided in their own minds that there is but one way to regain the lost share which belongs to the people in the control of their own affairs: in other words, that to obtain and secure our lawful liberties, we must have a Reform of Parliament.—(*Loud applause.*) On this point, I repeat, that the Electors of Westminster have a right to some explicit assurance from every candidate. Sir M. Maxwell, at the last election, professed himself against Reform. Mr. Lamb, who has been pushed to his present eminence on the poll by Sir M. Maxwell's former supporters, at first told us he was for an extensive reform. Of late he has said nothing, and even his placards have been silent on that subject. Is he aware, that by declaring for householder suffrage, he is almost destroying the borough system. I do not think he is. How can he obtain, as he does, the support of the great families, if he is to give them to understand—"My Lord, I will annihilate your interest in this place—and, Sir, I shall make your bargain in that place worth nothing."—(*Laughter and applause.*) In the same way, how do you think that, in trials between the minister and the people, or what is still more embarrassing between the parliament and the people, he can possibly declare against those to whom he has been obliged for his principal support? Does he not stand here as the acknowledged representative of the two great parties, (if not collectively, at least by their individual upholders), who have no interest in common with the people; and who frequently combine in parliament, under the pretext of supporting the constitution, but with the real wish of resisting the people. But I see that Mr. Lamb has appealed to the *tradesmen* of Westminster. Of course he has—he knows that, however he may be recommended by the aristocracy, it is by the influenced votes of the tradesmen that he must supply his poll. This appeal may indeed be called a mockery; for he knows very well, that if nobody but himself appealed to the tradesmen—if they were not pressed to this place by every solicitation; and indeed demand of their ungenerous employers, his appeal would be totally fruitless then; as it is ridiculous now. It would be more candid, and equally efficacious, if the Candidate were to repeat on these hustings the lesson formerly taught by the Admiralty politicians on the same scene. It would be better if he were to say, what I see the *Chronicle* says, that he expects the support of the friends of the *Constitution in Church and State*. These words are intelligible enough, and as they must be, even now, trembling on the lips of the Coalition Candidate, he had better utter them at once. And yet he will not—he still chuses to be recommended as something belonging to others rather than as any thing

substantial himself. He is the *friend* of this thing and of that man. —(*Laughter and applause.*) The friend of the principles of the revolution. The friend of liberty. The friend of Sir Samuel Romilly, who was the friend of Mr. Fox, who was the friend of his country—and, lastly, I see my learned antagonist placarded as the *friend* of the poor man. This latter denomination comes, I think, with peculiar grace, from the candidate, whose friends have on this occasion stepped forward to deprive the poor man of the only remaining property which the poor man now possesses—I mean his vote : (*Loud cheers.*)—for to this effect does the decision made at their instance respecting the *poor rates* infallibly amount. That decision will more than account for Mr. Lamb's majority : but even with these advantages—with all that can be effected by the wealth of the aristocracy and by the distresses of the people—the means of the coalition candidate seem daily to diminish, and, I doubt not, but that there is still spirit enough in Westminster to insure the ultimate triumph of our cause.

Mr. Hobhouse withdrew amidst great applauses.

Mr. LAMB came forward ; but his voice was drowned in the clamour of disapprobation which arose from the whole body of the people. He said, that days ago his opponent, always so lavish in predictions, announced that long before this time the Whig majority would have been extinguished. It had, however, gone on slowly, but surely advancing. To the charges of his opponent he could not hope to make any answer likely to convince those who were determined to refuse him the right of being heard ; while the many liberal men whom he saw solicitous to hear every person, would decide on the character of that cause which sought its security in an organized interruption to the candidate against whom their invective was directed.—He retired with wishing them a good night.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT came forward, and was received with great applause. He spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I did not address you yesterday from the hustings, because, as I repeatedly endeavoured to impress upon you the propriety and justice of hearing every person who addressed you, and thinking it only justice that you should act upon this feeling, I was really anxious that the other candidate should be heard before I again appeared before you. You have heard the repeated addresses made by Mr. Hobhouse to implore your attention to Mr. Lamb—and however difficult it is for you to suppress your feelings, it would be well if you would continue to give all parties a patient hearing. It would be well to do so, for you have heard the most extraordinary motives assigned to this interruption. You have heard of the extraordinary charge, that you are brought here to interrupt Mr. Lamb—and the still more extraordinary assertion, that you

have been bribed by me for this purpose. Were I capable of attempting to bribe the English public, for such I may fairly call the great body I now address, your own integrity would, I am sure, render abortive the baseness of the attempt. It has been suggested that I should have addressed you when Mr. Lamb was interrupted, for the purpose of obtaining for him a hearing. This would have been arrogance and folly on my part, for it is impossible I can do more than I have done, that is, to solicit your patient attention to all that the parties engaged in this contest can have to say to you on the present occasion—and it is unfortunate for your own sakes, as well as for theirs, that you will not listen to what they have to urge in their own behalf. I am the more anxious that you should hear Mr. Lamb, because I know he is put forward not only as a Whig, a name you will not like, but as a wag, who may possibly entertain you; and though he may not entertain the many, he may perhaps amuse the few. As it does not please you to hear Mr. Lamb, I shall refrain from addressing you, in reply to the observations which he is reported to have made; I shall, therefore, address to you only a few general observations, the effect of which will be, I trust, to stimulate those exertions of which I know you to be capable, and which, I am confident, if made, will place us ultimately at the head of the poll. I have no doubt of our final success, and that at present we have no reason to despond. Ours is the cause of Liberty—our voters are freemen, who cannot, like those of our opponents, be brought by compulsion to the poll. I have that reliance on their independent spirit—I have seen that spirit roused, and I have heard of the promises which have been made, which will, no doubt, be fulfilled; these not only leave me a confident hope, but I may add, not a shadow of doubt, that our success will be decided and commensurate with the justice of our great cause. Mr. Hobhouse has told you that already we should have a majority on the poll, were it not for the objections taken respecting the non-payment of the poor's rates—objections respecting which, if one uniform rule be not observed, I think we shall have great cause to complain of the conduct of those who preside on the present occasion. Mr. Hobhouse had aptly enough expressed his surprise at Mr. Lamb's calling himself the friend of the poor. The man who would captiously urge this objection respecting the non-payment of the poor's rates, instead of calling himself the friend of the poor man, should rather style himself the poor friend of man; that would be his more proper designation, for he who can act so does not deserve the name of the friend of man, he is no friend to the liberty of man, to that liberty which

“Lends to life its lustre and perfume,
“And we are weeds without it,”

and the value of which, I trust, our great example will still continue to uphold for the people of England, and in this contest secure for us a glorious triumph over the unnatural Coalition which is now arrayed against us. I think it right to notice one or two statements which have gone forth respecting me. The Editor of *The Morning Chronicle* has spoken as if I considered the office of Editor of a public Journal as a lowly occupation; he knows little of me, if he imagines that I hold such an office to be an humble station. On the contrary, my opinion is, that the conductor of any portion of the public press—I mean of the free public press of this country, who conducts it with that first of all virtues, impartiality, and who adds to this, ability and intelligence—I say, that I look upon such a man, instead of filling a lowly station, to be holding a proud station in this free country—a higher station, gentlemen, than is filled by many of the titled but insignificant personages who boast of wealth and honours among us.—(*Great applause.*) If a man filling this station should, on the contrary, give a false colouring to facts, and lend himself to misrepresentation, then, I say, he exposes himself to the just animadversion of every honest man, and he cannot complain of the just indignation which is the consequence of his own conduct. It has been said in the paper to which I allude, that in 1802 I came into parliament for Middlesex upon Whig principles. I never came in upon any such terms—I do not know what Whig principles are, Gentlemen. I have been, in vain, trying to understand or define them. Are they the principles of the justly celebrated Mr. Fox, or are they the counterpart of the sentiments of such a man as Lord Grenville? Mr. Hobhouse has well observed, that in all the extraordinary coalitions of the Whigs and Tories, the former alone lost public character. This is an historic truth, for they alone had any character to lose. Amongst the persons who are denominated Whigs, I know there are many gentlemen of most honorable principles, many most independent men, who are true friends to the people of England; and who must not be confounded with the rest of the party. But when one speaks of the party, it is impossible to be always making those particular distinctions, and when the animadversion upon their conduct is made, it can only be understood as applying to those whom the cap fits. I would not exceed proper bounds in saying, that there are many gentlemen equally honorable among the Tories; but this says nothing when we speak of the whole as a party, and when our animadversion is, I repeat, made upon them, those whom the cap shall fit must alone wear it. But when I look at both parties together, I can only lament that between them the people of this country have been weighed down to the earth; that between them the people have been ruined by taxation; and that by the mal-administration of each

party in its turn, the liberties of the people have been compromised. From this experience, the people very rightly attach no importance to which of the two parties shall be in office. Is it not astonishing, then, that men in power will not see that there is something bad in the system, which ought to be altered? the root of the evil is in the corruption of the House of Commons—and the fair representation of the people in parliament is the only effectual remedy for the removal of this abuse. I shall detain you no longer, Gentlemen, from the important exertions which you are called upon to make—important not so much as concerns Mr. Hobhouse, but as concerns ourselves; for though I am of opinion his principles are just and right, yet I know the difficulty there is of speaking of one's-self, much less of another, from the little permanent value that can be attached to men's principles. But I do say of Mr. Hobhouse, that I think he has ability to support your cause, and integrity that will never desert it.—(*Applause.*)—I know his principles are in unison with my own, and I trust we shall triumph over the efforts of corruption and tyranny as far as they are embodied against us in the Westminster Election. I trust we shall triumph over this monstrous and unprincipled Coalition, which has never been more odious and disgusting than it appears on the present occasion, and that our triumph will, as I confidently hope, be greater on this than upon any former occasion. With these principles in common between us, it is not extraordinary that our adversaries should attribute sinister views to our actions—that they should say money was the real active agent on this occasion. You know this to be false, Gentlemen—were it true, Gentlemen, I should be a detestable hypocrite, and you the commonest cheats, and we should deserve to be exposed to general detestation and public disgrace. I again say, Gentlemen, that I rely upon your efforts to support the independence of Westminster.

Sir Francis Burdett retired amidst reiterated cheers, and with him Mr. Hobhouse. Both of them adjourned to Fisher's rooms, and again addressed a large assembly of the Electors who had followed them. The reader may wish to see the paragraph in the Times and the article in the Morning Chronicle to which Sir Francis Burdett alluded.* He will remark the strange pertinacity by which even

* "Sir Francis Burdett returned again, in his speech from the hustings, to a personal attack on the Editor of this Paper. It would seem that the Editor's exertions in the cause which he has so invariably espoused had been effectual, thus to provoke such bitter hostility from the Honorable Baronet, as if to these he owed in some degree the failure of his projects of self-aggrandisement. There would have been no gratification to the Editor in being left out of the list of characters whom Sir Francis has chosen to stigmatize as corrupt, because they have uniformly maintained the principles which seated the illustrious Family of Brunswick upon the throne, and who have preserved their integrity in the cause amidst all the evil reports which he and his followers raised against them. While the Editor of this Paper has the honour to preserve unimpaired the good opinion and confidence of

the Times held to the fiction of the Morning Chronicle; that there was a hired party to hoot Mr. Lamb.* NOT ONE SIXPENCE

the distinguished persons who have never swerved from the direct line, and who are justly held in reverence by all men who respect consistency, truth, and honour, he can bear the taunt of contempt which the companion of Mr. William Cobbett and of Mr. Henry Hunt has levelled at him. True it is, that once, and but once, did Sir Francis Burdett and the Editor of this Paper dine at one another's tables. In the year 1802, Sir Francis Burdett stood upon *Whig principles* as a Candidate for Middlesex. The Editor of this Paper, as a Freeholder, was invited to a party at the house of the Honorable Baronet, to take steps for the furtherance of his Election; and recently, that is, in the course of the last winter, the Honorable Baronet dined at the House of the Editor. He was brought thither by a mutual friend, without invitation, but that friend previously said to the Editor, 'that Sir Francis would be happy to come along with him.' What will be thought of the decorum of the Honorable Baronet, who, after this plain statement of the case, could chuse, in the absence of the Editor (whose indisposition he knew had kept him from taking an active share in the present contest) that it was an act, or the act of 'his life of which he was ashamed?' We suspect that there are other acts of Sir Francis Burdett's life on which he can reflect with less complacency, but we leave these to his inward monitor.—We have nothing to say to him but in his public character—and our hostility to his principles would have taken from us all desire of personal intimacy, if even, in the very humble sphere of life in which a Journalist is placed, the Editor could have aspired to mix with the *chosen* society of the Honorable Baronet.

"There is nothing so disgusting as to talk of one's self, but there are occasions when it is excusable, and surely the Editor of this Paper may be forgiven, when thus pitifully assailed, he presumes to vindicate his claim to public confidence against the aspersions of this foul-mouthed declaimer. From the year 1777 the Editor of the Morning Chronicle has laboured indefatigably in the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity. In the course of this long service he defies all mankind to prove that he has been venal or corrupt. It is, indeed, some proof of the integrity of his proceeding, that he still is bound to labour at the oar. He owes it, however, to an indulgent public to say, that the very extensive circulation of his paper is an ample remuneration for all his toils, and the fair profits of his paper are the only reward to which he looks, or which he will ever receive.

"This then is the difference between Sir Francis Burdett, Baronet, and the Editor of this Paper. Sir Francis, with high birth, splendid fortune, and elegant talents, has so shifted and changed, so degraded himself by vile association, so forgotten the manners of a Gentleman as to adopt all the calumnies of his click, and so roused the apprehensions of the genuine friends of the Constitution by his mischievous doctrines, that at this moment he has not standing at his side one man of consideration who supported his political pretensions ten years ago. The Editor of the Morning Chronicle entered into the useful profession of a Journalist, unknown and unassisted. The opinions of the exalted Statesman, deceased, sunk deep into his heart. He has acted upon them with constancy, and he trusts with utility. The result is, that he has the happiness to enjoy the friendship of all those who reverence the memory of Mr. Fox—and he desires no better epitaph on his grave-stone, than the testimony of their esteem."—*From the Morning Chronicle of Thursday, Feb. 25.*—How ungrateful to attack Mr. Cobbett, whose wit the Chronicle had borrowed to abuse the Rump!—and Mr. Hunt also, whose unheard speeches the Chronicle had recorded for the honor and glory of the Whigs, and the depression of Sir Francis Burdett!

* After the cheers, by which this speech (Mr. Hobhouse's) on its conclusion was hailed, had subsided, Mr. Lamb came forward to address the meeting. The hooting was very great, and evidently proceeded from a set of men who were hired to make it. We really cannot help saying, that we think that Sir Francis Burdett

WAS SPENT FOR SO BASE A PURPOSE—NOR WAS ANY ONE STATIONED TO MAKE A NOISE BY THE REFORMERS. As to the article in the Chronicle, the reader may admire the agreeable parallel made between the plummy state of Mr. Perry, and the fallen fortune of Sir Francis Burdett: the comparison being made by the complacent Perry himself.

The Reformers, seeing the small majority of Mr. Lamb, felt confident of success. Their Committee came to the same flattering conclusion, by a survey of their canvassing books; and the same encouraging report came from every one engaged in the same cause. The following hand-bill was distributed the same evening, and advertised the next morning:—

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT,—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

“ ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER !—The power of the unnatural Coalition against you is dwindling away !

“ Their trifling majority of Nineteen, at the latter end of the week is equal to a defeat at the beginning.—Those whom influence and power deprive of choice are compelled to vote at what time their oppressors bid them. Still their majority is but nineteen. It is an evidence of their declining strength.

“ Come to the Hustings, Vote for HOBHOUSE, and give them their Death-blow ! ”

Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse attended several parish meetings, and were every where received with the most affectionate tokens of regard.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27.—TWELFTH DAY.

THE following notice was appended to Mr. Lamb's advertisement this morning, and placarded in the streets:—

“ MR. LAMB'S COMMITTEE respectfully inform his Friends, that the reports purposely circulated of the Electors in his interest

could, if he chose, obtain silence for Mr. Lamb. We know that in his speeches he has always advised the mob to hear that gentleman; but unfortunately he has never given them that advice till Mr. Lamb has left the hustings, after ineffectually attempting to make himself heard. We submit it to the Hon. Baronet, to try what effect a word from his mouth or a wave of his hand would have, in stilling the tumult of the multitude, either before or during the time that Mr. Lamb is speaking. As matters are at present carried on before the hustings, only one party is heard, which we consider to be as unfair as if Sir F. Burdett, in the pride of his strength, should commence buffetting a poor wretch, whose hands were tied behind him—an act which, from the generosity of his nature, we know that Sir Francis Burdett would scorn as much as any man to commit.”

Times of Thursday, Feb. 25.

being obstructed or molested on their way to the Poll, are entirely without foundation; and that a Free Passage from the Committee Room, 27, Henrietta-street, to the South Entrance of the Hustings, will be kept open, down to the very last hour of the Poll, and that no Voter need apprehend the slightest inconvenience."

As there had as yet not been the least disturbance in the streets, and no one had been prevented from polling; it was immediately apprehended by the Reformers that this was an electioneering manoeuvre similar to that which had been played off at the last election, when the friends of Sir Murray Maxwell were told that they could have *free access to the poll*, and some unmerited odium was thrown on the opposite party; at the same time that the Maxwellites, under the pretence of resisting a violence which had never been offered, arrayed a hired force. The Reformers felt confident therefore that as the Whigs had insinuated that violence had been used by their opponents, they, the Whigs, were actually mustering a mercenary body themselves. It is needless almost to mention here that which is notorious to all London, that since the people have truly returned their Representatives in Westminster, none of those disgraceful practices which before attended the struggle of the two parties, have been witnessed in the elections of this part of the metropolis. It has been quite unnecessary for the Reformers to hire the show of that popularity which they have in the substance; and having the power of the people, nothing would be so absurd as for them to organize an insignificant portion of that force, the whole of which is spontaneously their own. The Whigs, however, chose to assert that the Reformers had been guilty of this folly, and since their coalescing with the Tories had, as before said, borrowed one of the stale tricks of Sir Murray Maxwell's Committee. This pretended fear of organized violence was, however, sufficient to denote that some such organization was preparing by the coalition; and the apprehensions of the Reformers were soon justified; for in the course of this morning certain intelligence was conveyed to the Committee at Fisher's rooms, that Mr. Lamb's friends had re-hired and augmented the Brown Bear party; and that the proceedings at the hustings would certainly be interrupted this day by the above mercenaries.

Mr. Hobhouse was this morning introduced to a great number of the unpolled voters of St. Anne's parish: he and his friends received scarcely a single refusal; but, on the other hand, the government had now appeared openly in the field, and the polling was *very heavy* on the side of Mr. Lamb. The ordnance office in particular, under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington, was making very great exertions. All the popular pretexts of the Coalition Candidate were laid aside—the regular court signals were hung out—and the

Electors were now told to "VOTE FOR LAMB FOR THE HONOR OF WESTMINSTER." The canvassers on the part of that gentleman spread about a report that Mr. Hobhouse was some individual raised from the dregs of society, and put forward as having a little more education, and much more assurance than his pot companions. Indeed these canvassers stopped at nothing. In some parts, Oxford-street for instance, Mr. Lamb was represented as being friendly to the catholic claims, or unfriendly to them, just as the Electors happened to be inclined. This advantage was not possessed by Mr. Hobhouse, who being requested by several of the voters about Chelsea to say that he was *against* the catholic claims, replied through the Committee, that he would make no such declaration; and if he lost the Election by the contrary declaration, he would still make it. Mr. Lamb's canvassers condescended also to repeat and propagate the report that Mr. Hobhouse was of exceedingly libertine principles in religion—and those very papers which had before accused Sir Benjamin Hobhouse of canvassing for his son, now asserted that such was the father's abhorrence of his child, he was canvassing against him. Mr. Hobhouse was repeatedly intreated to contradict these rumours from the hustings, and was assured that they impeded the canvas of his friends; but he would not consent to notice such malevolent absurdities, and was willing to give the coalition the whole benefit of their worthy devices.

At the close of the poll this day, the numbers were—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Hon. G. Lamb . . .	442 . . .	3693
J. C. Hobhouse, Esq. . .	250 . . .	3077
Major Cartwright . . .	0 . . .	37

Mr. Lamb's hired ruffians were placed in a cluster at his end of the hustings, and were ably seconded by the *gentlemen* in the hustings, some of whom were recognised as bearing the most honorable names of the party. Amongst those who were the loudest in crying *off! off!* when Mr. Hobhouse was speaking, was Mr. CHARLES JAMES FOX, *Lord Holland's eldest son*; and several other young *gentlemen* were scarcely less active. It must be mentioned that the hootings with which Mr. Lamb had been on former days received, none of them proceeded from the tradesmen Reformers who stood within Mr. Hobhouse's end of the hustings. They were the ebullition of the popular feeling without the hustings.

When the board was exhibited, Mr. Lamb's party and the gentlemen set up the most vociferous cheers. The people were as loud in their hootings. Mr Hobhouse stepped forward:—

Gentlemen,—Our opponents are 192 before us on the day's poll. Their whole majority amounts to 616—and it has been procured

chiefly in the parish of St. George, where the influence of the aristocracy possesses its greatest weight. (*Hisses and hootings from the hired party, and cries of off! off! from Mr. Fox and the gentlemen—loud cheers from the people.*) But this majority is not so great as that of the Court Candidate on the late occasion, which exceeded 800, and which you annihilated in two days. (*Applause, and the same cries.*) I trust, however, that this is the last day on which our antagonist will be at the head of the poll, and that on Monday you will convince your opponents that you have not changed your character, and that you feel and see clearly enough that the Whigs have not bettered theirs. The present contest has not, I believe, given them much chance of growing upon the public esteem, but has shown, that having determined upon an unworthy object, they object to no dishonest means by which it may be attained. (*The struggle between the people and the hired party of the gentlemen here became very loud and incessant.*) I do not charge those who are now interrupting me with being hired for that purpose, although Mr. Lamb thought fit to make that charge against those who have, some how or other, been displeased with him during this Election. If there are any base enough to sell themselves for such a purpose, it is to be hoped my antagonist would not be dishonourable enough to buy their services. He has insinuated, and more than insinuated, that a party was paid for hooting him. I defy him and all his friends to make good his charge. Moreover I say, that if not wilfully blind, he must know that no such vile manoeuvre has been resorted to by the Reformers. What do they want with packing an audience amongst the people when all the people are for them? (*The cries were renewed, and the attempts on the part of the people to stifle them only increased the confusion.*) Gentlemen! (*said Mr. Hobhouse, turning to those in the hustings*) if you are not disposed to hear me, I must retire. (*Some one cried out "Don't go—never mind the gentlemen blackguards in the hustings—they are only the little great men."*) I am as confident of success now as at any period of the contest. The people of Westminster cannot permit this monstrous and unnatural coalition finally to triumph. If only half of the promises given to us shall be made good, our cause will ultimately succeed. (*Mr. Charles James Fox cried "Off! Off!" louder than ever.*) Gentlemen—it seems strange that any one should suppose that I have an interest in preventing the other Candidate from being heard. My interest lies the contrary way—if he does not speak, how can I reply? Besides this, instead of the charges being made against me good humouredly, and on the scene of action, I have the disadvantage of finding them recorded against me in a more regular sort of impeachment in the daily oracle of the party. The Chronicle of this day, for instance, calls the Reformers

Ultras : a strange word when we consider that it is the term applied in France to those who would push the principles of despotism to the extreme. The Whig vocabulary of railing must be surely nearly exhausted when such a term is applied to the friends of liberty, even supposing that we were a little too eager and earnest in our courtship of that once favorite goddess of the Whigs. If, however, by calling us *Ultras*, our antagonists mean that we go *beyond* them in feeling the paramount necessity of Reform—not a partial but a radical Reform—if they mean that we go *beyond* them in our resolution to act upon this conviction—if they mean, that we go far far beyond them in upholding the importance of the people, and the insignificance of party; then, indeed, we plead guilty to the charge—we are *Ultras* in this sense of the word. But if they mean to say that we go so far beyond them as to seek for redress only in Revolution, and that we are inclined not to stop short of confusion and anarchy—then, I say, *we are not* guilty, but *they are* guilty—that is to say, they are guilty of making a charge which they cannot, which they know they cannot, at all make good, (*Here the noise increased.*) Gentlemen, we have to contend with every difficulty; but we shall surmount every difficulty; even the decision respecting the poor rates will, I trust, prevent no Elector from at least tendering his vote. *The cries of "Off! off!" from the gentlemen under Mr. Lamb, and the party without, here stopt Mr. Hobhouse, who said, "Let Mr. Lamb speak." Mr. Lamb came forward, and said, "He was not so arrogant as to presume to bid them to be quiet."*—Gentlemen, as you see that those who oppose your wishes to hear me can still keep up sufficient clamor to prevent me from speaking audibly, I will save you the trouble of any further contest with these gentlemen to-night, and retire.

Mr. Lamb then appeared in front.

The Times says of this exhibition,—“We cannot find words to describe the scene of confusion which took place; we must content ourselves with saying that even in Covent Garden we never witnessed any thing like it before. Mr. Lamb continued to speak, though those who stood within a few feet of him could not catch a single sentence.”—In fact, the people seemed resolved to revenge themselves for the interruption given to Mr. Hobhouse; and the shouts of indignation that assailed Mr. Lamb were heard far beyond the market. A copy of his speech, however, was transmitted, as the British Press mentioned, to the newspapers, and was thus reported in the Chronicle:—

He wished he could hear what the gentlemen said; if they would not hear him, he should be glad to hear them; and if any of them wished to speak, he would readily give place. Certainly the Hon.

Baronet could not be accused of much arrogance in his obtaining a hearing for him, for if it was to be measured by their silence, the Hon. Baronet was certainly the most modest man breathing. Surely his majority had considerably increased! for this he believed he might, in some degree, thank his opponent. It was said some time ago that he (Mr. Lamb) was not supported by the tradesmen of Westminster, the consequence had been, that the tradesmen thought it necessary to come forward, to make the cause their own, and the result had been this day's majority. Since he could not be heard generally, he would, at least, speak shortly to those close to him, and not leave uncontradicted some of the principal misrepresentations that had been poured forth against him, and that he had hitherto been unable to answer. Mr. Hobhouse had chosen to enter into a long detail of former proceedings of the Whig party, and the coalitions they had formed. Among these, he had stigmatised the latter coalition with the Grenvilles, as having injured the character of the Whigs. He could tell them of one previous, that injured them much more, and that was, the coalition with Sir Francis Burdett, to support him in his contest for Middlesex. The Hon. Baronet had, to his astonishment, (according to his reported speech), said that he did not stand for Middlesex upon Whig principles, for that he never could understand what they were. Yet the Hon. Baronet had stated on the hustings at Brentford, that he belonged to that party which was commonly called the Whigs. He says, however, that he did not understand their principles. As he had said so, he was bound to believe him; and indeed he could conceive it, as on the present occasion, it was more than probable that the Hon. Baronet, in common with the people at large, was in the predicament of not understanding the principles of his present nominee. However, he then publicly professed himself a Whig; and if he was not a Whig, as he now says, he deceived Mr. Fox and the Whigs who supported him, and palmed himself upon the electors of Middlesex, under a false character. Mr. Hobhouse himself, unless he was much misinformed, not long ago, when he sought to represent one of the Universities of this kingdom, and thought such a character would be useful to him, had also professed himself a Whig. His opponent had been rather incautious in his abuse of the last coalition of the Whigs, and his comments on it could scarcely be acceptable to his protecting Baronet, for the Baronet at that time acted with the Whig party, and did not desert them till some years afterwards. The moment that he had chosen to desert them, was shortly after the death of Mr. Fox. That great man was scarcely laid in his honoured grave, before the Baronet stepped forth to ridicule the goodness to which he owed a large debt of gratitude, and decry

the talents which claimed the admiration of the world, and against which, while living, he had never, and never would have dared, to breathe an insulting word. He perceived he could scarcely be heard, and would attempt it no longer; his opponents had accused him of too much waggery, and were displeased with his attempts to amuse that assembly. He had to-day, to please them, meant to be as serious and as dull as he could, though he never felt in better humour. For fear he should be betrayed, if he continued, into something like a jest, he would wish them good night.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT next stepped forward. The gentlemen began crying off! off! and were joined by the party without the hustings. The people cheered vociferously. Sir Francis remarked, that he was going to say, that he would not take advantage of addressing the Electors on this occasion, because Mr. Lamb had not been heard. He did think that it was unfair to have two to one.—(*Applause*).—Even at football he thought it was unnecessary to tell them that it was impossible for the game to be played, if there were two on one side and none on the other. Although he felt perfectly confident upon the issue of this contest, he would not take the advantage of addressing them, because he wished to shew Mr. Lamb that he would not sanction unfair play; and he desired it to be understood in future, that unless all sides were heard alike, he should feel it to be his duty to remain silent.

When Sir Francis Burdett withdrew, Mr. LAMBTON came forward, and was observed making attempts to address the people. There were loud cries of *who is he?* and *off, off, off!* *No Whig!* Mr. Lambton said, "If Mr. Hobhouse's friends would allow me to speak, I should wish to make some observations—if they will not, I must retire."

Mr. HOBHOUSE came forward—"Gentlemen, I entreat you to hear Mr. Lambton, for my sake—for your own sakes."

Mr. LAMBTON then spoke with less interruption, and was seldom hissed except when the *gentlemen* were indiscreet enough to applaud the attacks on Sir F. Burdett.

Mr. Lambton went on. He had only to appeal to their candour as Englishmen; for a fair hearing, convinced as he was, that however he might differ in opinion from some of them, still that they would deem it but liberal to hear the principles upon which that difference of opinion was founded.—(*Applauses*).—He was sure that he should not make this appeal in vain. It was with no small regret that he stood forward on the present occasion to oppose Mr. Hobhouse. He had had the pleasure of Mr. Hobhouse's friendship for some time, and no individual entertained a higher opinion of his talents or of his honour than himself. Mr. Hobhouse, how-

ever, had thought proper during the present election to make some statements which he felt it to be his duty most solemnly to contradict. Mr. Hobhouse had told them that Mr. Fox had said that it was his sincere wish that all distinction between Whig and Tory should be abolished. Now he had the authority of the illustrious nephew of that great man to state, that Mr. Fox had never made any such assertion. He was not much surprised that the words of Mr. Fox were not accurately reported, when he recollected the confusion which existed, and the difficulties which were thrown in the way of that class of individuals by whom these reports were given; a class who, by the bye, contributed in the highest degree to the liberty of the press and the country. He also stated, that Mr. Fox had never made use of the words "radical reform." The words which he did make use of, and he stated it on the authority of Lord Grey, who was present on the occasion, were, "a radical change in the system;" and not "radical reform."—(*Pooh! it is the same thing.*)—If Mr. Fox did mean reform, was it the same sort of radical reform for which Sir F. Burdett was the advocate? He would answer that it was not, for that radical reform was but the watch-word for annual parliaments and universal suffrage. He feared that there were some individuals in this large crowd who did not wish that the truth should be heard. If there were such, let them stand forward, in order that the great majority of the persons by whom they were surrounded might treat them with the contempt which they deserved. He wished to ask by what right it was Sir Francis Burdett now came forward to bring charges against the Whigs? Was it the same Sir Francis Burdett to whom credit has been given by the society of Concentricks, at Liverpool, upon his stating to them that he was ready and willing to support their plan of reform? Was it the same Sir Francis Burdett who made this declaration, that now came forward to accuse the Whigs of hugging infamy to their bosom, and to apply to them epithets of the most degrading description? Sir Francis Burdett had accused the Whigs of subornation of perjury, in bringing persons to the poll to vote for Mr. Lamb; but upon what was this accusation founded? Was he not guilty of precisely the same practice himself? How came he to parade about the streets with banners and with music, but because such proceedings were fair and honorable in a contest like the present; and if they were fair and honorable upon his part, surely they were equally honorable on the part of Mr. Lamb's friends. Attacks had also been made on individuals of the other sex; but he would leave it to Englishmen to say whether this was a fair, honorable, and manly mode of conducting a contest. Had not some of the fair sex exerted themselves in favour of

Mr. Hobhouse also? To be sure they had. Every one connected with him had been using the utmost influence to place him in that situation to which he had been recommended—recommended he would say, by a Committee which published one of the most libellous reports that ever escaped from the hands of any Committee whatever. He was not performing a very pleasant task to his own feelings, but he considered himself bound to come forward to vindicate the character of those who had been libelled, in a manner the most foul and unjust. That report accused Mr. Fox of having been guilty of crimes the foulest that could sully the character of any man. It went so far as to accuse him and his friends of riot and even of murder. He would leave it to all those by whom he was surrounded to say whether this charge was founded or not. For his own part, he repelled it with the indignation which it deserved, and retorted the charge of infamy upon those from whom it proceeded. Mr. Hobhouse had charged the Whigs with standing neutral at the early period of this election. He was astonished that Mr. Hobhouse should have made that assertion, when he knew the correspondence that had passed between him and Mr. Lambton on that subject. Mr. Hobhouse well knew the disposition of the Whigs was to make a temporary sacrifice of their undoubted claims to the confidence of the Electors of Westminster, in order to secure unanimity, and that, in consequence, the proposition to start a Whig candidate against Mr. Hobhouse had been twice abandoned. But the Whigs now came forward, because Mr. Hobhouse's Committee had thought proper to bring the grossest and foulest charges against their character, and because they thought it necessary to appeal from them to the People of Westminster, knowing well that such an appeal could not be made in vain. He knew that the independent Electors would stand forward to resist the nomination of a Committee so constituted, and that they would not suffer Sir Francis Burdett, under their dictation, to nominate whom they might think proper. Was it Sir Francis Burdett who now came forward to complain of the boroughmongering system. He should like to know in what borough in the kingdom there was a more complete dictation than by a part of this Committee. Mr. Hobhouse had brought forward a most despicable character, a Spy, accused both by God and man, to support his pretensions. He brought forward a spy, who had been sent to their Committee for the purpose of afterwards betraying them. He did not think, from what he previously knew of Mr. Hobhouse, that he would have enlisted such a man in his cause; but from a source so polluted, he was not surprised that falsehood should characterise the statement of the spy. Mr. Lamb had never stated, nor had he (Mr. L.) ever stated, that

he was ignorant of the corrupt boroughmongering system. It was impossible that he, or any other man, could plead ignorant of a system too generally known to exist. He (Mr. L.) was as much an advocate for Reform as Mr. Hobhouse, and he thought he might with truth say, for a description of Reform more true and efficient than was supported by the party who had put forward Mr. Hobhouse. It was that Reform of which that illustrious and lamented friend of his country and humanity, Sir Samuel Romilly, was the enlightened and indefatigable advocate. On that Reform he certainly gave Mr. Lamb his most cordial support.

Mr. HOBHOUSE again came forward—the gentlemen and the hired party began again to hiss—but Mr. Lambton, looking down at them, waved his hand, and cried no! no! silence! silence!—Mr. Hobhouse then began, and answered Mr. Lambton in the following speech, which was received throughout with the loudest acclamations by the whole assembly, and was printed and circulated by order of the Committee the same evening.

Gentlemen,—I labour under considerable disadvantage in answering Mr. Lambton's speech, for I did not distinctly hear the particular topics he touched upon. I only occasionally caught some of his sentences. To those I did catch, I shall give the best and most sincere answers I can. He first, as I understand him, states, that he has the best authority for saying, that Mr. Fox never expressed a wish for the abolition of the miserable distinctions of Whig and Tory. What I have to say in justification of my quotation from Mr. Fox's speech is, that I took the extract which I read from a published report of that speech. All the reports that I have read of that speech concur in attributing to Mr. Fox the very words: I have heard, indeed, that there is one report in which they are not cited. Mr. Lambton has told you that he had his information from the nephew of Mr. Fox (Lord Holland), that Mr. Fox never used the words I quoted. As Mr. Lambton has told you that he has this authority, I think it right to state that I had my information from the nephew of Mr. Fox likewise. I asked the question of him, in a passing way, whether that speech had been correctly reported, and I understood from him that it had been reported by Mr. Perry himself!

Mr. LAMBTON.—I have the authority of Lord Holland to deny the correctness of that report.

Mr. HOBHOUSE.—I should have never mentioned a private conversation, had not that species of communication been alluded to by Mr. Lambton. I must again repeat that I asked Lord Holland the question, whether that speech was correctly reported, and I understood it was reported by Mr. Perry. The words are to be found

in all the editions I have read. We have likewise the authority of Sir F. Burdett, who was also present at that debate. I should like to know from *him* how *his* memory serves him, for I understand that he does recollect perfectly well that Mr. Fox used these words. Besides, it is very extraordinary, that as those words are in so many various reports of Mr. Fox's speech, made at the time, that they never were contradicted till now. It is only stated on private authority, and from *recollection*, that he did not use these words. You all know, Gentlemen, that one authority is as good as another. *My* inquiries authorise me in saying that they *were* used; but exclusive of this, the speech itself bears me out. Mr. Fox lays peculiar stress on the bad effect which party efforts and distinctions had upon the question of Reform; and when the sense renders the use of these words natural—and when the records of their being spoken are uniform, surely I am not to be accused of misstatement for my having quoted them, nor is my statement to be overthrown by merely partial recollections, opposed as they are by so many various printed authorities. Mr. Lambton says, that Mr. Fox's expression was "a radical change of *system*." The words to which I alluded in the report are, "a radical *Reform* of the Representation in Parliament."* He says that there is a wide difference in the meaning of the two phrases: but the question is, Gentlemen, not what I or any other man means, but what Mr. Fox himself meant. I have explained to you *how* I quoted his words, and *where* I got them. I never said that Mr. Fox meant the same plan of Radical Reform that we wish.† I said, on the contrary, that he did not mean the same, but that he used the words; and had Mr. Lambton read any other paper than the *Morning Chronicle*, he would have seen that there was no ground for his observation: for actually, Gentlemen, in reading the

* Mr. PERCEVAL, on the 3rd of January, 1798, remarking on a former Speech of Mr. Fox, said, "that Mr. Fox had declared he would form no part of any Administration without a total, fundamental, and *Radical Reform* of Parliament, and he begged the House to attend to those most dangerous and alarming words."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. 33. p. 1191 and 1195.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. PERCEVAL, said—"I do not pretend to have a very good memory of the precise words of any man, and especially of my own; but I think the words I used were these, that a *Radical Reform*, both of the Representation in Parliament, and of the abuses which have crept into the practice of the Constitution of this country, together with a complete and fundamental change of system of administration, must take place, and that until it did, I, for one, will take no share in any administration, or be responsible for any office in His Majesty's councils. I think these were my words. I am sure they were the substance of what I said."—*Ibid.* p. 1229.

Mr. PITT said, "The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) expressed himself in the same words the London Corresponding Society had thought proper to adopt."—*Ibid.* p. 1269.

† But it may be said, that the Friends of the People professed the very principles found in Mr. Hobhouse's declaration.

Chronicle, I no more recognize what passes at these hustings, than I do what is going on in Japan. I think I next caught Mr. Lambton's expression, that on this occasion we had *the aid of the Whigs* to drive away Sir Murray Maxwell. I repeat what I before said, that *they gave us no aid*. Mr. Lambton certainly did make to me a private declaration of his support, on certain conditions; but was this any proof that I was to have the support of the *Whigs*? or that *they* assisted us in driving away Sir Murray Maxwell? Surely the proffered support of Mr. Lambton did not drive away Sir Murray Maxwell! Mr. Lambton is correct when he says that he endeavoured to prevent another candidate being started against me. I believe he did contribute to prevent another candidate being started; but, surely his writing a letter with *that* view, cannot be construed either as a proof of his, or the Whigs, having driven Sir Murray Maxwell from the field. Neither he nor I understood it to have had *this* effect at the time. I hope I am the last man to be ungrateful for expressions of kindness; but when Mr. Lambton announces them on these hustings, I may be permitted to quote the lines of our poet Prior:—

“ To John I owed great obligation,
But John unhappily thought fit
To publish it to all the nation :
Sure John and I are more than quit.”

I think I heard Mr. Lambton apply the word “despicable” to my conduct. I hope I did not—(Mr. Lambton: “certainly not.”) I am glad of it. I again contradict the assertion, that the Whigs gave the smallest aid to expel the Court Candidate. I appeal to Mr. Lambton's friends (*looking to the Gentlemen by whom Mr. Lambton was surrounded*), whether they did not say the Whigs would observe a strict neutrality between me and Sir M. Maxwell. This I *know* was the understanding. I positively deny that we received any assistance from the party. I ask, was there any subscription opened among them, any canvassing, or any other act done to assist us? I know not of one. I defy Mr. Lambton—I defy any other man of the Whigs—I defy any man living, to say with truth, that the Whigs came forward to assist us in any way whatsoever to drive Sir Murray Maxwell from the field. Mr. Lambton knows very well, that in his private conversations with me, he stated his objections to the Whigs starting a candidate against me; and I thought at the time, that independent of his personal kindness to me, he was governed in his opinion by a proper popular feeling. I owe it to Mr. Lambton to state thus much, but as to the *Whigs* giving me their support, I know they had more *hostility* to me than otherwise—indeed this was avowed to me by one of the represen-

tatives of the leading Whig families. He avowed to me that they were on the whole *hostile*—that I was not in fact popular with *them*. Mr. Lambton will recollect that when he spoke to me on this business before, I told him I considered *his* conduct the more kind and the more flattering, because he was almost the *only* man of the party who so expressed himself. I never made any objection as, if I heard him rightly, he insinuates I did, to *Ladies* canvassing for my opponent—(Mr. Lambton said, “my allusion was to Sir F. Burdett.”)—Yes, I remember what Sir Francis Burdett said; but his objection was not against Ladies canvassing—it cast no reflection upon the fair sex; for what he complained of was this, that the nobility were driving about, and *forcing voters into their coaches* decorated with coronets, and bringing them down to the poll. As to the *spy* that Mr. Lambton charges me with using, all I shall say is, that he was not a spy. I never sent him to Mr. Lamb’s Committee, nor to any meeting; but he told me after he had been, not to Mr. Lamb’s Committee, but to a public meeting of his parish, what had occurred. No spy has been employed by us, although *we* see spies enough coming to us from Mr. Lamb’s party. I walked up to this poll, from the St. Anne’s Committee, arm in arm with a man whom I afterwards found to be a spy. The information given to me by Mr. Clarke, whom Mr. Lambton designates as a spy, was a plain statement of what he heard Mr. Lamb, who was always talking of Reform, give of his *principles* at a public meeting of Mr. Clarke’s own parish. The declaration thus made by Mr. Lamb, does not authorise *any* body in designating that man as a spy, whose questions put to Mr. Lamb at that public meeting produced the declaration. There is, I know, a great deal of *spying* in our Committees; this is, I suppose, merely the *Ruse de Guerre* of our opponents. I should be glad, on occasions like this, that we should have none of those lying, tricking, and paltry stratagems, used at some elections, but which, until again resorted to, and now practised only by our opponents, were banished from Westminster.

As to the Report of the Committee, which has been animadverted upon by Mr. Lambton, what I know of it is, that it stated the opinions upon the subject of Reform of the 340 Electors composing your parochial committees, who ordered its publication. If that report be offensive to the Whigs, I am not answerable for it. I am not here to state what I approve or disapprove of that report; but I confess I do not see in it any thing so offensive as Mr. Lambton pleases to think it to contain, except, indeed, so far as plain truth may be offensive. I am astonished at Mr. Lambton calling upon me to speak upon this topic, when he knows, as well as I do, that I cannot, without a breach of trust, discuss here that point with him. I do not think this quite fair and honorable dealing. The *Whigs*

are here to oppose me, and I must stand or fall by a comparison of my conduct with theirs. *I must stand or fall by shewing them to be, in this contest at least, the decided enemies of the people.* If Mr. Lambton had taken the trouble to read other papers, and not believed all that was said by Mr. Perry in his Chronicle, he would have known where and how I was misrepresented. He who was himself here, ought to have known that when I denounced the Whigs as a party, I always made individual exceptions. I never said or thought that there were not honorable men in the party. I objected generally to the conduct of the Whigs *as a party*, and to their conduct more particularly in Westminster. Do the Whigs mean that we are to be trampled under their feet, and are never to speak our sentiments until they choose to allow us? Did they expect that we should feel in any other manner than we have felt at their conduct, in rising up on a sudden, without any warning, to oppose the popular candidate? We saw them stand by for months, until we had expelled the Court Candidate. We did this without their aid. *It is THIS which has aroused the arrogance of that overbearing and impotent party.* I say *impotent*, because it is their *impotence* which makes them arrogant. They *cannot* act beneficially for the people. The country knows this, and laughs at their "large" minorities—despises their proceedings—and treats, as it deserves, their ill-assorted combination. They can *do* nothing: they *know* it, and therefore they talk so foolishly, so indefinitely.

I have now, Gentlemen, answered every thing I heard of Mr. Lambton's speech. I repeat, upon my honour, I have given a sincere and candid answer to all the statements that I heard him make. I am glad you heard him. I hope you will do so again if he should address you. It is for your interest, and my interest, that he should be heard, and if possible answered.

Mr. Hobhouse looked at the poll as he retired, turned round to the Electors again, and said, "We shall win it, Gentlemen; I have not the least doubt of the result."

The effect produced by the reply to Mr. Lambton, which was delivered, as the Sunday papers announced, with the utmost animation, was very considerable. No rejoinder was attempted by Mr. Lambton, on that or any other day of the Election; and the Whigs for the future sent no more orators to the hustings. The People accompanied Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett to the Committee Room, and the assembly filled the outward yard. They addressed the people from the windows, and were answered by repeated assurances that every effort should be made in behalf of the good cause.

The Committee issued the following hand-bill:—

" REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

" **ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER!**—The Poll is drawing to its close, another glorious victory is within your power.

" **Your Enemies**—your Whig and Tory Enemies, are formidable in their craft, and in their corruption.

" That you despise their power, is but too clear, for you are lulled into a security, which, if continued, may be fatal.

" **Arouse yourselves in time!** Your Freedom, your Honor, your Independence, the character you have maintained for the last twelve years, may all be lost while you are preparing for action.

" **Come forward instantly,** and record your names among those who are exerting themselves to maintain them.

" **England expects Westminster to return HOBHOUSE to support BURDETT and REFORM.—QUICK to the POLL!**"

In the mean time that this contest had been raging in the metropolis, the friends of freedom in the country were perfectly astounded at the conduct of the Whigs; several articles deprecating the conduct of the party, appeared in the most respectable provincial journals, and amongst others, the Scotsman, and also in the Norwich Courier. The Morning Chronicle was instructed to counteract these rising sentiments; and accordingly in the paper of Saturday appeared the subjoined article:

" We observe, in that independent and intelligent paper, *The Scotsman*, an expression of deep concern at the contest which is now carrying on in Westminster, and much blame imputed to the Whigs, for having introduced disunion among the friends of liberty, by starting a candidate against Mr. HOBHOUSE, after that gentleman " had been so long in almost undisturbed possession of the field." It is due to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, and to the other friends of liberty in the country, who may labour under the same mistake, distinctly and explicitly to declare, that the present contest for Westminster was not sought for by the Whigs; (a) but has been

(a) But the excuse was sought for; just in the same way as when the Whigs thought of starting Mr. Samuel Whitbread, they gave out that Mr. Hobhouse had attacked them at a parochial meeting at St. George's parish. To these parochial meetings they sent spies; one of whom complained that Mr. Hobhouse did not speak out about Reform, that is, did not give the Whigs any thing to lay hold of. The letter in the Chronicle of November was written to procure a declaration from Mr. Hobhouse, on which to found an

forced upon them by the violent and virulent abuse, contained in the Report of Mr. Hobhouse's Committee, and sanctioned by that gentleman in his speech at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. (b)

"In this creed or manifesto of the Ultra party, the Westminster Elections, in the time of Mr. Fox (who, by the way, was the first person in the present reign that emancipated Westminster from the degraded condition of a Treasury Borough), are described as "profligate," "atrocious," and "corrupt," and "murder" is said to have been "the smallest part of the crimes that accompanied them." (c) The expressions of Lord GRAY against Mr. PITT, when persecuting his old associates, the Reformers, are retorted on himself; and though he has, on every public occasion, declared himself the friend of Parliamentary Reform, he is publicly branded as "an apostate." The Whigs are said to have "justly incurred the contempt of the people," and they are stigmatised "as a faction, not a jot better than the Tories." (d) Was it possible for men of spirit and honor to keep on terms with a junto, who brought against them such false accusations, conveyed in language so virulent and intem-

opposition to him; and it was said by a Whig leader, "*if there was not another man in the world we would oppose Hobhouse.*" This was while Maxwell was in the field, and at the time there was some talk of Mr. Whitbread.

(b) Read the Report; it may be put in without one word of remark as a reply to this calumny. Read Mr. Hobhouse's speech.

(c) Were not the elections attended with circumstances of *profligacy, atrocity, and corruption*? Could 80,000*l.* be spent without it? There is now living a person who polled one man *ten times* in different disguises for Charles Fox; here are ten false oaths, to say nothing of betraying the people, by calling the representative of such sham votes the representative of the people. As for the murders, they were committed, Mr. Horne Tooke procured the record of the coroner's inquest, of two men killed in the streets by the bludgeon-men, and intended to have produced it before the Election Committee. See the action between Mr. Fox and Mr. Tooke. There is an active Reformer in Westminster, who himself saw a barrow-man killed for mere sport between the two hired gangs of Fox and Hood. For the rest—the Report only quotes a record of the transactions written by Mr. Thelwall.

(d) Said of the Whigs in 1807: and is it not true? Did they not incur the contempt of the people? and might not the Report have truly said that the contempt attached to them still?

perate? Was the co-operation of Mr. PLACE and Co. worth purchasing, at the price of personal degradation. (e) The Whigs have repeatedly shewn their readiness to sacrifice their interest to their principles; but they cannot consent to give up their honor, even to serve the cause of liberty, if so noble a cause could be served by such prostitution. For many years they have borne in silence the foul and calumnious imputations of the Ultras, (f) and have even admitted into their circles some of that party, who have no scruple to use a different language in private from what they hold at the alehouse. (g) But, where there is no confidence, there can be no co-operation. A schism among those who equally profess to be the friends of liberty, is undoubtedly to be lamented. It is, however, the work of the Ultras, and not of the Whigs. The latter will neither swerve from their principles, nor sacrifice their honour to obtain support from any body of men whatever; they will steadily pursue the course which they think most conducive to the public interest,

(e) Mr. Place and Co., that is, 3,861 Electors, who, if joined with those disfranchised by partial and arbitrary conduct, and by temporary distress, would certainly be a majority of the Electors.

(f) That is, never let slip an opportunity of abusing the Reformers on every occasion; just before the Report, Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton made, in the strongest and coarsest terms, a set attack upon the Reformers, particularly the Westminster Reformers.

(g) For this we have the word of the Chronicle. The admission of Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Kinnaird (for these are the individuals probably aimed at) into the circles of the Whigs, was indeed truly condescending, especially too at a time when these persons were known to be frequenting the alehouses, and laughing at the "circles" with their pot-companions. If, however, it is no more true that they had the advantages of this admission, than it is that they devoted their time to the alehouses, then it is to be feared that they cannot boast of much intercourse with the aristocracy. There is one consolation, namely, that the Whig who wrote this article must have been at the alehouse too to know what sort of discourse these individuals held there. By the way, talking of alehouses—how long ago is it since the Duchess of Devonshire kissed the chimney-sweeper, to get a vote for Charley Fox? and did the Chronicle know, that whilst he was writing, a certain Right Honorable Lady was "using language," not only in the alehouses, but the bagnios, in behalf of Mr. Lamb? The fact was known at the time to the Committee of Reformers, but they being mere blackguards, did not make a song or a placard of it, as the gentlemen would have done.

undeterred alike by the frowns of the Court, or by the malignity of the BURDETTITES." (h)

The Morning Chronicle on Monday thought it necessary to republish an article, which appeared in the Norwich Courier. Here it is, with the preface:—

"The endeavours of the Westminster Rump Faction to deceive the public in those parts of England where Whigs, and the principles of Whiggism continue, in spite of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and the Court, to be ever associated with the rights of the people, (a) and the fundamental doctrines of our constitution, have already been noticed by us in our paper of Saturday, in which we commented on an article in *The Scotsman* respecting the present contest for Westminster. A delusion of the same nature (although we have reason to believe very limited in its extent), has crept into the county of Norfolk, where a most respectable and independent journal, *The Norwich Courier*, of Feb. 20, censures the Whigs for creating disunion among the friends of liberty. The following reply to the above article appeared in the same journal on Saturday last, and we reprint it as containing another plain exposition of the facts, differing in nothing from our own statement:—

(h) What shall we say of the *malignity* of those who have no other method of replying to political antagonists, than by boasting of having received them, as if solicited, into their *circles*, hinting what their *private* talk was, reproaching them with living in alehouses; and, lastly, charging them with basely varying their opinions to betray their high companions and cajole their vulgar associates? And the Whigs talk of the personalities of the Burdettites, and of their *malignity*! In this one article we have a sample of true manners in all its modes. The Whigs remind a man of a favor you have conferred on him; allude to the language of his privacy; charge him with treachery and double-dealing; and couch the whole accusation in such a way as to have the full effect of a direct charge, but not to allow of any means of contradiction except by the general, and perhaps unheard reply, that the whole is an infamous untruth. And these are the men who call themselves *gentlemen*.

(a) The great preference the Tories have for Sir Francis Burdett was seen in Westminster, when Maxwell gave Romilly 2000 votes, and when the Carlton House tradesmen received orders to vote for Mr. Lamb. The strict association between the Whigs and the people was seen also at the late Election.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORWICH, YARMOUTH, AND LYNN
COURIER.

" Sir,—The leading article of your Paper of the 20th instant, contains observations on the present contest for Westminster, totally unauthorised by facts.

" The writer of that article conceives that blame is due ' to both parties ' for dividing the popular cause.

" In the name of those Electors in the interest of the Candidate who represents our cause, as it was asserted and maintained by the late lamented Mr. Fox, and as one who agreed to support Mr. Hobhouse when Lord John Russell, for the sake of keeping the popular interest united when it was expected that a Court Candidate would be put up for Westminster, resigned his pretensions, (b) I flatly contradict the statement, that ' blame is due to both parties ' on this occasion.

" The facts are simply as follow :—

" On the 14th of November last, when Government had announced its intention of supporting Sir Murray Maxwell, the Whig interest in Westminster (which had first liberated that city from Ministerial servitude in 1781, by choosing Mr. Fox) deeming Lord John Russell the most likely candidate to fight the public cause, *in which we all seem to be agreed*, (c) with success, against a Court nominee, testified a disposition to support that excellent and tried friend of the principles of our glorious Revolution. Lord John Russell had also the advantage (and a great advantage it was, with a view to success) of having professed *and acted upon* the principles of Sir Samuel Romilly, who, as we all know, stood at the head of the poll for Westminster in the Election of June last, even although Sir Francis Burdett was then a Candidate. (d)

" The friends of Sir Francis, however, were determined to put up a Candidate, who should, by his vote and conduct in Parliament,

(b) Lord John Russell, in a communication with Mr. Hobhouse, which Mr. Hobhouse conveyed to the Committee, positively asserted, that he never had *resigned* his *pretensions*—he never having put them forward, and Mr. Wishart having nominated him against his will. So much for the first statement of these " simple facts."

(c) It is presumed that *all those who seemed agreed* attended the public meeting to support Mr. Wishart's nomination of Lord John Russell—all these amounted to *twenty-five*—not one more.

(d) But how was he at the head? by receiving more than two thousand of the second votes of the Court Candidate.

represent the principles and follow the views of their own Chief, rather than those of Mr. Fox and Sir Samuel Romilly.

"When this disposition was evinced, and maintained in such a manner as to convince the Whigs that they must either give way or divide the popular interest, **THEY GAVE WAY**; (e) and many of them not only engaged to support Mr. Hobhouse, but canvassed for him, and exerted their best means to secure his election. (f)

"From that day until the 9th of February, union, and apparent cordiality subsisted between the Whigs of Westminster and the friends of Sir Francis Burdett. (g) Mr. Hobhouse, with many opportunities of explaining his views to individual members of high rank, and long standing, among the Whig party, and of avowing those fundamental differences in principle from the Whigs, which he is now delivering every day from the hustings at Westminster, as well as his personal dislike and distrust of them, during the whole of this time was silent. (h) **SIR MURRAY MAXWELL WAS IN THE FIELD**; and Mr. Hobhouse, although certainly no party man himself, received, if not with gratitude, at least with politeness, the fair and zealous support of those Whigs, from whose public principles and views it now appears that he was more widely separated than from the Tories. (i)

(e) Gave way—because Lord John Russell would not stand.

(f) This is positively false. Not one of those engaged in the nomination of Lord John Russell canvassed, or exerted any means to secure Mr. Hobhouse's election.

(g) So far from true, that no cordiality whatever subsisted. The Morning Chronicle first inserted a hostile letter against Mr. Hobhouse—then kept perfectly silent; so that the friends of freedom in the country thought Mr. Hobhouse abandoned; then an effort was made to start Mr. Samuel Whitbread, by the very Whigs who had been concerned in Lord John Russell's nomination.

(h) False. Mr. Hobhouse, from the moment of his nomination, was treated with the utmost coldness and suspicion by most of those Whigs with whom he was in some degree of intimacy; and, indeed, since his decided preference of the cause of the people to that of the party of the Election of 1818, he had never pretended to his former familiarity with the intolerant party which he knew admitted of no difference of opinion. Whatever opportunities he possessed of privately stating his fundamental difference of opinion, as to party, he was always explicit: he stated that difference to Lord Tavistock, to Mr. Bennett, to Mr. Lambton, and to Mr. Brougham, to Mr. Dennison, to Mr. Ellice. He never had any other opportunity.

(i) Mr. Hobhouse never could behave with either gratitude or

"Thus matters went on until the 9th of February. On that day his Committee met; but in the interval SIR MURRAY MAXWELL HAD RETIRED, and union among the friends of freedom, THAT UNION TO WHICH THE WHIGS HAD SACRIFICED LORD JOHN RUSSELL, appeared no longer necessary to Mr. Hobhouse or his Committee.

"Still, however, all might have gone on peaceably, and Mr. Hobhouse would have been returned without any public rupture (?) between the two parties, if that Committee, and afterwards Mr. Hobhouse himself, had not at that meeting, in a manner the most wanton, uncalled for, and unprovoked, declared OPEN and UNEXTINGUISHABLE war against the Whigs, against their principles and intentions, as well as their persons and their characters, not sparing even Mr. Fox himself; grossly and wilfully misrepresenting the one, and vilifying the other, by the foulest personal invectives; and holding up the whole body to the scorn and hatred, and even to the vengeance of the people of England.

"Now, Sir, I beg the writer of the article who says that '*both parties are to blame*' for the present contest in Westminster, to say what his opinion of the Whigs would have been if they had submitted to bear the character of Enemies to the People, Apostates, Place-hunters, and even Murderers, all which designations are to be met with either in the above report, or in the speech of Mr. Hobhouse?

politeness—for their fair and zealous support—for HE NEVER RECEIVED IT. It is extraordinary that such a falsehood as this should be so audaciously repeated. He was promised the support of Mr. Perry, of Mr. James Macdonald, and of Mr. Wishart, before his nomination, and when it was thought Mr. Kinnaird would be proposed; but he never received their support, or that of any Whig whatsoever, unless Mr. Ellice is to be called a Whig, and he subscribed 25*l*. From the first to the last, the Whigs threatened a Candidate, and a Mr. Godwin actually commenced a canvass the moment Maxwell retired.

(j) The honest Whig Elector, after stating so many simple facts, seems to have let slip a word here—the prevention of a *public* rupture surely is an admission of a previous *private* dissension; and yet he before talks of the apparent cordiality which had subsisted between the Reformers and the Whigs. The remainder of the "*simple facts*" about the Report and Mr. Hobhouse's speech, have been answered before, in commenting on the preceding article. Such were the means taken to secure Mr. Lamb's election, and those too, by *Gentlemen!!!*

"What could they do, except APPEAL TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER against the charge?

"With whom, then, did this contest originate? Was it with the Whigs who supported Mr. Hobhouse while his return was doubtful, or with Mr. Hobhouse, who, when he thought it secure, *then, for the first time*, characterised us as I have described, and declared his FUNDAMENTAL AND IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE FROM US ON PUBLIC PRINCIPLE?

"I am, Sir,

"A WHIG ELECTOR OF WESTMINSTER."

In the very same paper which contained these "simple facts," which said, that "the Whigs canvassed, and exerted their best means to secure Mr. Hobhouse's election,"—which said that the Whigs gave him "their fair and zealous support," appeared another article of a Whig, the Editor's, or leading article, containing these very words—"It is true Mr. Hobhouse had not the general or active support of the Whigs, during his canvass. But is it necessary to explain to him the cause of their indifference?" And again—"But though the Whigs took no active part in his behalf." Thus "the best means" of the Whigs in one page of the Chronicle are "indifference," the "fair and zealous support," which it is "a simple fact" that Mr. Hobhouse received from the Whigs, turns out according to another simple Whig fact, to be construed into the Whigs "taking no active part in his behalf." It may be as well to conclude the extracts from the Chronicle by inserting the article containing the above quoted words. It appeared in the paper of Monday, March 1, and was alluded to by Mr. Hobhouse in his speech of that day.

"Mr. Hobhouse complains, that during the three months he canvassed Westminster against the Court Candidate, the Whigs 'did not stir a single finger' in his behalf. (1) Is this statement quite correct? What? not a single finger stirred in his cause? not a solitary Whig promised him support? (2) Let him recollect himself. Has it not happened to him, since his speech and manifesto at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to have had explanations with *more than one Whig*, who had rashly promised him support, before they

(1.) Mr. Hobhouse did not complain of this—he complained of the Whigs starting a man after the Reformers *alone* had expelled the Court Candidate.

(2.) Mr. Hobhouse said that a solitary Whig *had* done so—he said Mr. Lambton had done so, upon *conditions*—he might have said that Mr. Dennison had done so—and that the conditions were, "*if no Whig was started.*"

knew his *real* sentiments of their party? Have no expostulations passed? no verbal communications? no written animadversions on his conduct? (3) It is true, Mr. Hobhouse had not the general or active support of the Whigs, during his canvas. But is it necessary to explain to him the cause of their indifference? Is he not perfectly aware, that it was owing entirely to the virulent placard of his associates against Mr. Fox, that he had not at that time the hearty support of the Whig party? But though the Whigs took no active part in his behalf, he is not ignorant of the fact, that they exerted themselves successfully, to prevent any new Candidate from starting against him. (4)

"He next complains, that after he had driven the Court Candidate from the field, 'the Whigs came *treacherously* forward to rob him of the fruits of his victory.' Has he lost all recollection of what passed in the interval? Has he no remembrance of a speech he made, and of a Report he heard at the Crown and Anchor Tavern? Has he forgot his own remark to his Committee, that if *that Report was published*, it would certainly provoke the Whigs to a contest? To which some of his wisecracks are said to have replied—'So much

(3.) This atrocious expedient, of taking away a man's character by asking him questions, as if he could only answer in the affirmative, was commented upon in Mr. Hobhouse's speech. Mr. Hobhouse received no expostulations, no animadversions, either verbal or written. Sir Ronald Ferguson and Mr. Lambton called upon Mr. Hobhouse, to tell him that the Whigs might think it necessary to appeal to the Electors against the Report. As for any expostulations of the kind to which the Chronicle alluded, Mr. Hobhouse hoped that he might trust to his general character for the persuasion that he could submit to no such insolence from any man. Mr. Hobhouse was so confident of this, that he did not think it worth while to contradict an idle story in a newspaper, (the Observer) which stated that Lord Grey's friends had insisted upon a disclaimer of the Report by Mr. Hobhouse.

(4) What does this mean? that the Whigs exerted themselves successfully in preventing themselves from starting a Whig candidate? So the Whigs take as a positive merit a piece of negative conduct; they avow that some of them thought of starting another candidate—and then wish for praise, because, as they say, all of them did not concur in that measure. Surely, if there was any merit in preventing this fresh candidate from starting; there was a demerit in those Whigs who thought of such a proceeding; and here is an avowal of the wish to start another candidate—which avowal may be also contrasted with the "simple fact" of the Whig Elector; that the Whigs gave their fair and zealous support to Mr. Hobhouse up to the publication of the Report—which is false.

the better.' (5) And has he now the face to complain of treachery, when that very opposition has taken place, which he himself foresaw? Would it not have been something more akin to treachery, to have approved of the Report at his Committee, and then to have kept back the publication of it till his Election was over? (6) Let

(5) A downright falsehood. Mr. Hobhouse never made such a remark to his Committee, as the Chronicle calls a *Committee which was not his, and over which he had not the slightest control*. If the remark had been made, it must have been made privately; the information must have been given confidentially to the writer in the Chronicle, and the making use of such information could never enter into the head of any but a gentleman Whig. The completing the attack by the answer said to be made by the Committee, and supposing phrases for the sake of founding a comment upon them, to the prejudice of that Committee, is admissible only by the rules of the same polite high-bred morality.

(6) Here is the same sort of questioning—and tends to hint that Mr. Hobhouse approved of the Report, but wished it to be kept back to serve his own treacherous purposes, and until he could attack the Whigs with security. Now as the writer knew nothing at all of the facts, as he could know nothing of them, is it possible to conceive a more dishonorable attempt to ruin the character of an individual? The actual truth is, that Mr. Hobhouse's private personal wishes would have led him to have kept the specific mention of the name of Lord Grey out of any Report: because he understood that his Lordship and his Lordship's son-in-law, Mr. Lambton, had expressed themselves personally favorable to him—and he knew that what actually did occur, would occur, namely, that he himself would be supposed to have gone out of his way to attack individually those individuals inclined to be friendly to him. He told this voluntarily to Mr. Lambton and to Sir Ronald Ferguson; but he made those gentlemen give him their honors that they would not only not tell any one this circumstance, but would not act upon it. On general public grounds he defended the Report.

So fearful was Mr. Hobhouse lest he should be supposed to enter into the slightest compromise with the Whigs, that he would not allow to be publicly known that which he might tell with the most perfect truth; and which, had he made it publicly known, would very probably have prevented all the Whigs from consenting to oppose him, and thereby possibly have stopped the contest altogether. General Ferguson and Mr. Lambton at the time regarded Mr. Hobhouse's conduct in that light. They told him they looked upon his conduct as most fair, manly, and honorable; and parted from him with many and repeated tokens of esteem. The General's last words were, "*By God! I can't help wishing you well after all.*" Mr. Hobhouse having enjoined secrecy to these Gentlemen, did not think he was

the charge of treachery recoil on him who best merits it. The Whigs have been credulous; but they are incapable of treachery. They would never have permitted Mr. Hobhouse to carry on a canvass in Westminster for three months without opposition, if he had expressed at that time the same opinions of their public conduct, which he now delivers from the Hustings." (7)

at liberty to mention the above circumstance to any one. Even when the ridiculous report in the *Observer* appeared, he did not publicly contradict it: he felt that the General and Mr. Lambton could not possibly be the authors of it. When questioned at the Committee, he contented himself with saying the story was false; but when the allusion to this meeting appeared in the *Chronicle*, he thought fit to mention the whole fact to the managing Committee; and his statement has been *literally* followed and given above.

(7) Mr. Hobhouse could not express the same sentiments *before* the Whigs started a Whig against the popular candidate, as he did *after* they had started a Whig against the popular candidate. Mr. Hobhouse's sentiments, as has been before stated, respecting the bad tendency of party—respecting the Whig coalition ministries—respecting the change of sentiment observable in their conduct on Parliamentary Reform—he had never concealed from any one. His conduct at the General Election of 1818, prevented any mistake; so much so, indeed, that Mr. Sturch in his speech on the 17th of November, when Mr. Hobhouse was nominated, said, that Mr. Hobhouse had done all in his power to keep Sir Samuel Romilly out of Westminster. Although this was not true, it was quite sufficient to shew that Mr. Hobhouse was considered as any thing but a WHIG; and that he was hostile to the combination of party, was seen and understood by the WHIGS themselves, who, as before asserted, lent him no support, and were continually eager to start a candidate against him. But whatever Mr. Hobhouse, or any other man might have thought of the WHIGS, of course his opinions must have been regulated by their conduct; and as it was impossible to show a more decided proof of the selfish, irritable, domineering, anti-popular spirit of party, than was given by the starting of Mr. Lamb under the peculiar circumstances of the case, that event was quite sufficient to develop the real character of the Whigs, had it been concealed before, and to justify any comment upon their conduct. The Whigs, perhaps, expected that their opposition to the Reformers would be received with tame submission, with mute resignation; that the supporters of Mr. Hobhouse would be content with silently recording their names at the poll, without hearing any reason which might justify their preference of the popular to the party candidate. Certainly this would have been very convenient for the Whigs, and might have produced that consummation which they flattered themselves *actually* would be effect-

The intervening Sunday was no Sabbath to either party. The Coalition Committees were in the utmost activity; and a general meeting of that of the Reformers took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Sir Francis Burdett was in the Chair: there were present nearly 300 of the Committee. The managing Committee made a report of the state of the canvassing books; and after some discussion, the meeting agreed that notwithstanding the state of the poll, there appeared no reason to doubt of the final issue of the contest. Every individual present promised to exert himself personally to bring up to the poll as many votes on each of the remaining days, as, if their exertions should succeed, would secure the election. It is certain, that when the meeting broke up, the prevalent opinion was, that the Reformers would be at the head of the poll on Tuesday. Every one looked forward with the utmost anxiety to the struggle of the next day, which, it was presumed, would give certain indications of the final event.

ed, namely, that before the first week was over, Mr. Lamb, by the mere force of genuine wit, would be the favorite of the people. This might, perhaps, have been the case, if either Mr. Lamb had had all the talk to himself, or, if the contest at the hustings had been confined to cracking of jokes; but the Reformers wish to be serious, and think that the Farce should not be acted without the doors of Parliament—so Mr. Hobhouse, and, worse than that, Sir Francis Burdett, told their minds seriously; and as the Whigs put the public in possession of their past virtues, these gentlemen brought forward so much of their history as sufficed to shew that the party patriots were not entirely without a blot in their escutcheon.

Finally—it may be remarked, that Mr. Hobhouse never attacked any good principles, as professed by the Whigs; he attacked Whig practices; and he more than once endeavoured to shew that he and the Reformers in general were still the representatives of those principles which Mr. Fox and his friends advocated in 1798, and of which the present party were the determined opponents.

MONDAY, MARCH 1.—THIRTEENTH DAY.

THE rain poured down the whole of the morning. The consequence as usual was injurious to the popular candidate, many of the voters remained at home. In the mean time, the great exertions of the coalition, and particularly of the government, kept down the majority of the Reformers; and, at the middle of the day, the polling on both sides was even. The weather prevented any popular assemblages in the various parishes.

Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett proceeded to the Committee-Room about two o'clock. On their arriving there, immediate representations were made to them of the organization by the coalition of a large band of prize-fighters, lamp-lighters, coal-heavers, costermongers, watermen, and others, to the number of about six hundred. These persons, it appeared, divided into several bands, were parading the streets in the vicinity of Covent-Garden, armed with bludgeons, cleavers, axes, and other dangerous weapons, and had already hustled and beaten, and otherwise maltreated Electors, and others, wearing the blue ribbon. They had endeavoured to break through the line reserved for those going to poll from the Reformers' Committee-Room; and had so mixed themselves up with the people in front of the hustings: that from two o'clock, until the close of the poll, there was a perpetual affray. The people, though totally unarmed, or with such weapons only as they had snatched from their antagonists, managed to preserve the line to the hustings; but many of those who had witnessed the ferocity of the hired party, intreated Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse not to move without protection, as, in spite of popular favor, a single ruffian might do a serious injury to either of them. Mr. Hobhouse immediately repaired to the High-Bailiff, and made a complaint of the conduct of the gang, desiring that every care might be taken that the voters might proceed to the poll unmolested. Mr. Morris gave directions to the High-Constable; and at the same time, two gentlemen, who had been witness to the violences, complained to the sitting Magistrate, at Bow-Street;* and a little more investigation proved, that one of the very persons who had been employed in the hiring of those ruffians, was a Bow-Street officer. Mr. James Macdonald, and a

* A deputation from the Reformers' Committee also waited upon the magistrates; but, it was presently seen, as it had before been seen in the case of Sir Murray Maxwell's ruffians, that the people would have to defend themselves from Mr. Lamb's gangs how they could.

Captain Prescott, of Mr. Lamb's Committee, had, it was found, employed, amongst others, one Bond, a Bow-Street Patrole; and had bargained with him for a number of ruffians, who, under pretext of protecting Mr. Lamb's voters, were to annoy those for Mr. Hobhouse. Three or four individuals attached to the Reformers, had actually allowed themselves to be hired by this Bond—had received the instructions—had procured the list of the whole band under several captains, and had possessed themselves of the whole of the iniquitous secret, which they communicated to the Committee in King-street. Mr. Lamb's Committee, and Mr. Lamb himself, not being aware of this discovery, chose flatly to deny, as will be seen, the whole proceeding, and up to the last moment, actually charged the Reformers with that violence which they had themselves deliberately organized. To keep up the delusion, Mr. Lamb's advertisement continued, as on Saturday, to state, that his voters would be protected, and have free access to the poll. A little before the close of the poll, several persons ran into the Committee-Room in King's-Street, with news of renewed outrage: two men dreadfully wounded also entered, and gave in a written deposition to Mr. Hobhouse, which was to be forwarded to the Magistrate—Mr. Hobhouse's brother himself arrived with intelligence, that he had been forced to fly from a band, crying Lamb for ever, and brandishing deadly weapons. A Captain Manby appeared with a similar account, and begged that he might be conducted to the hustings to tell his story to the people. The utmost indignation prevailed amongst the large body assembled at the Committee-Room, and in the court-yard. A single word, either from Sir Francis Burdett or Mr. Hobhouse, would have been sufficient to dispatch the people in a body, and to drive before them the whole gang which was now regularly drawn up in Henrietta-Street before Mr. Lamb's Committee-Room. But, the people were exhorted by these gentlemen to keep the peace—justice was promised them, and they contented themselves with thronging round Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett, in order to protect them as they proceeded to the hustings.

Scarcely had Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis shown themselves on the hustings, than several voices cried out, "*Lamb has hired another gang.*"—Shortly after, the clinking of marrow-bones and cleavers was heard, and proved to be the music of a large band of hired men, who were preceding Mr. Lamb to the hustings. That gentleman came forward with Mr. Lambton and Mr. Macdonald, and was cheered by the hired ruffians stationed on his side of the hustings. The people on all sides hooted loudly, and cried out, *No Lamb! No hired gang! No Whig!*

When the poll board was exhibited, the numbers stood thus :—

	<i>Polled this Day.</i>	<i>Gross Poll.</i>
Lamb	296	3989
Hobhouse	395	3472
Cartwright	0	37

The gentlemen about Mr. Lamb shouted and waved their hats; the hired ruffians also cheered. The people gave counter applauses: Mr. Hobhouse came forward. His appearance seemed as a signal to the party, whose directions were "*to hoot Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett, and to applaud Mr. Lamb, so as to prevent him from being heard.*" The latter part of these instructions may seem singular; but it arose from the confessed inability of Mr. Lamb to keep his temper, and was therefore contrived to prevent him from exposing himself. Mr. Hobhouse was accordingly hooted, so as to show that the labourer was worthy of his hire; and what between the cries of *Off! Off!* from Mr. Lamb's gentlemen and the hired party, and the applauses of the people, and the cries of, *never mind Lamb's gang*: it was difficult for the popular candidate to make himself heard. Mr. Hobhouse said :—

Gentlemen,—The cause of the independent Electors has gained a majority of about a hundred on this day's poll. That it is not much more triumphant, must again be attributed to the inclemency of the weather: for, I have the satisfaction to assure you that, unless we have been grossly deceived, there is not only time enough and numbers enough, but also spirit enough, to secure the liberty of Westminster from the grasp of an usurping aristocracy. But, Gentlemen, we have had to contend not only with the unusual wetness of the weather, but also with the extraordinary measures of our opponents. I call them extraordinary, not because they are entirely new, but because, with the exception of the resources brought into the field by the court candidate at the last Election, Westminster has long been a stranger to such expedients. I scarcely need inform you, who have witnessed the atrocities, that an attempt has been this day made to renew the sanguinary struggles which disgraced this city when it was a prey to the rival factions; and that many of our friends have been threatened with personal peril in the exercise of their elective duties.

A gentleman now stands near me.—(*Here, a gentleman came forward, pulled off his hat, and stood uncovered near Mr. Hobhouse, bowing to the people.*) Mr. Manby, of Wimpole-Street, who in the course of his pursuits this morning, in the neighbourhood of this place, was assailed by a band of ruffians, crying *Lamb for ever!* one of whom brandished an axe over his head, and forced him

to fly for his life into the first open door.—(*Loud shouts of shame! shame! No shabby Whigs!*)—I have just now left two Electors bleeding in our Committee-Room, whose offence consisted in wearing your blue ribbons, the symbol of your emancipation, and who have been dreadfully beaten and cut by a similar gang of ruffians that accompanied their outrage with shouts of *Lamb for ever!*—(*Shame! Shame! No Lamb! No Whigs! No hired Mob! No Murder!*)—I have before told you, that these Whigs are sufficiently acquainted with the past enormities encouraged by other Whigs at former Elections; and, I now beg you to remark, that these violences are contrived by these very persons who on Saturday last pretended to be indignant that the Whigs should be charged by the Reformers' Report, with having committed murderous assaults in the Westminster contests.*

I do not hesitate to say, that the practice of the present day completely confirms all the charges conveyed in that report; and, I am sure, that if murder is not committed this day, it will be owing more to the forbearance of the people, than to the mercy of the party. But, I promise, that you shall have justice. We are in possession of every fact which can expose this last disgraceful expedient—we know the ruffians hired, and the ruffians hiring—we are fully aware of all these gallant friends of the people are instructed to accomplish, for the purpose of intimidating the people; and I repeat, that although you will be too magnanimous to seek revenge, you shall obtain redress.—(*Loud applauses.*) I see that Mr. Lamb has informed his friends, that they will have free access to the poll. I ask him—I ask you, if that access has ever been obstructed?—Have his friends ever been prevented from polling?—They have not.—Why then does he obtrude upon the public this superfluous remark?—I will tell you: he does so, that he may cast upon the Reformers the odium of employing violence; and more than that, I suspect that if not he, at least his friends, do so, in order to throw a veil over their own proceedings, and to allow themselves the use of those weapons to which they charge us with having recourse.

The invention is good, but not altogether their own. Sir Murray Maxwell at the last Election provided a respectable body of Tothill-fields pugilists, under the command of Mr. Caleb Baldwin, to parade the streets with bludgeons, which were not suffered to lie idle in such experienced hands. At this moment appeared a placard: stating, that Sir Murray Maxwell's friends might have free access to the poll. The manœuvre was attended with success; and to this

* Mr. Hobhouse did not know at the time; but, it afterwards came to the knowledge of the Committee, that Mr. Lambton, the very Mr. Lambton who on Saturday professed not to believe that the Whigs had ever committed an outrage, was himself privy to hiring the gang.

very day, it is believed by those who were not in the scene of action, that the violence committed at that Election commenced with the people: whereas it is notorious, and I myself attended the magistrates to prove it, that the whole outrage began with the bludgeon men of Sir Murray Maxwell's Committee; and that previous to the interference of those ruffians no violence whatever had occurred.

The Whigs then have learnt something from their new friends, and may be called servile copiers, for they issued the same placard, and employed the very same description of partizans. I know their names—I am acquainted with their persons—I see some of them at this instant, and it is only out of mercy to them that I do not designate them on the spot. One thing, Gentlemen, you must by this time have learnt, that your party politicians seldom or never charge you with a crime which they have not at least meditated, if not committed themselves. These Whigs have for these last days been accusing the Reformers of hiring a gang—of inflaming them by intoxication to acts of violence—of intimidating the Electors from appearing at the poll. They knew the whole to be false. They have hired a gang—they have given meat and drink to their ruffians—they have encouraged them to every act of violence—they have attempted to terrify the friends of freedom. After such conduct, equally base and unlawful, (in which, if Mr. Lamb is not a participant, as I hope he is not, at least his friends are completely involved) these enemies of yours wonder that they should be the objects of popular indignation, and attribute that circumstance to our invectives, not to their own misdeeds.—(*Loud cheers.*)

It is not my intention during the present unfavorable weather to detain you much longer; but I cannot avoid noticing some charges made against me by the Whigs in their Chronicle, which are equally devoid of foundation with those with which my character has been hitherto assailed by those liberal and well bred gentlemen, whose command of the Press enables them to disseminate falsehood much more successfully than when they hire men to hoot me. The present attack is not less false, but it is more insidious than their former philippics, and is couched in the form of questions which may be put to any innocent man, and with the appearance of moderation and reserve, wound more deeply than any direct charge. The sentence is as follows:—

“Mr. Hobhouse complains, that during the three months he canvassed Westminster against the Court Candidate, the Whigs ‘did not stir a single finger’ in his behalf. Is this statement quite correct? What! not a single finger stirred in his cause? not a solitary Whig promised him support? Let him recollect himself. Has it not happened to him, since his speech and manifesto at the Crown and Anchor tavern, to have had explanations *with more*

than one Whig, who had rashly promised him support, before they knew his *real* sentiments of their party? Have no expostulations passed? no verbal communications? no written animadversions on his conduct? It is true, Mr. Hobhouse had not the general or active support of the Whigs during his canvas, but is it necessary to explain to him the cause of their indifference?"

Gentlemen! many of you who heard me on Saturday will be able to give a reply to these insinuations. I then said that *I had* the support of a solitary Whig. I never denied it. I said that one or two individuals, and amongst them Mr. Lambton, had promised me a vote. But having said this, I said then and I say now, that, as a party, *the Whigs did not stir a finger in my behalf*: what fingers they did stir, and they were those that hold pens for the Chronicle, were *against me*. For three months the Chronicle never once noticed the efforts making against the court in Westminster, except three or four times, and on those occasions the paragraphs were directed against me and against the Radical Reformers. As to the remainder of the above sentence, in which I am told to recollect myself, and am asked "do not you know this?" and, "has not that occurred?" I can only say, that at this rate it is fair to say to any man, "Remember, sir; have you never committed a murder? have you never picked a pocket?" A decided negative is hardly sufficient; it is necessary for me to ask, how the deuce they came to put the questions to me? You will, however, observe, that this question is neither more nor less than a mean attempt to help about a piece of lame scandal, which appeared in some Sunday paper, and which stated that General Ferguson and Mr. Lambton had called upon me on the part of Lord Grey. These are the expostulations to which the Chronicle alludes, and which it would make the world believe I submitted to, as being conscious of some improper conduct. I deny the whole. Mr. Lambton and General Ferguson did call upon me, but not for the above purpose; they called to retract their promise of voting for me. At the same time, a communication passed between me and those gentlemen, which was of a nature entirely different from that hinted by the Chronicle; it was volunteered by me, and I previously exacted a promise from them, that they would not act upon my information; although this promise was or might have been much to my detriment. I see Mr. Lambton here. I ask him, whether the Chronicle has not insinuated unfounded calumny? and, whether my statement is not exactly the truth?—(*Mr. Lambton here nodded assent.*) What then are we to think of this Whig organ, when it attacks an opponent not with any of the fair weapons of public controversy, but under the pretence of private information, aims at the destruction of private character? This is not the place for making personal boasts. I never submitted to any.

indignity; thus much I owe to my own reputation: and it is due to the gentlemen before alluded to, to say, that none was ever offered me. In a subsequent part of the article against me, it is asked,—“Has he no remembrance of a speech he made, and of a Report he heard at the Crown and Anchor tavern? Has he forgot his own remark to his committee, that if *that Report was published*, it would certainly provoke the Whigs to a contest?” I reply to this, that the Whig writer who appears to wish to seem to know so much is totally ignorant of the fact; is worse than ignorant; for he maliciously distorts a presumed private conversation of mine, which, if he had actually known, he could not without a breach of all the common forms of social honor and decency have ventured to allude to. And these are your Whig *gentlemen!* who pretend, that we, low bred vulgar souls, are unfit for the management of those affairs which require honor, and delicacy, and taste.

There now follows another insinuation, “But though the Whigs took no active part in his behalf, he is not ignorant of the fact, that they exerted themselves successfully to prevent any new candidate from starting against him.” This is really too bad: the government never thought of starting any new candidate; it was only the Whigs who thought of starting a new candidate against me; that candidate was Mr. Samuel Whitbread; and now because the party were not unanimous in trying that experiment, the Chronicle comes forward to claim praise for such forbearance; I say, that if it was praiseworthy to forbear, it was blameable to have contemplated that enterprise; and that to advance this as a charge against me, is as if I were to be accused of ingratitude by a family, one of whom had resolved to knock me down, but had been prevented only by his more prudent brother. The remainder of the charge, in which I am accused of treachery by those who have taken the friends of freedom by surprise, and followed up their sudden blow by the meanest manoeuvres, is not worth a refutation, it need only be met by a solemn denial.—(*The noise made by the gentlemen and the hired gang, together with the counter applauses, here became so loud that Mr. Hobhouse was with difficulty able to proceed.*) Gentlemen! I find that those who have told these falsehoods are resolved you shall not hear truth. I shall, therefore, take my leave. Do not despair of our final success; do not relax your exertions: but let those exertions be directed merely to the purposes of the election; for, above all, let me solemnly recommend you to commit no breach of the peace. Do not reply to your assailants with their own weapons; and, instead of trusting to your own immediate feelings, remain tranquil in the assurance, that the laws of your country will procure for you ample satisfaction. Justice you shall have whenever you require it; for, depend upon it, that you have friends who will not stand idly by and

suffer the liberties of Westminster to be trampled upon by the mercenary ruffians of a desperate faction.

Mr. Hobhouse drew back.

Mr. LAMB came forward. The hisses from the people in all quarters were tremendous, and completely drowned even the cheerings of the large body stationed to applaud. "*No Whigs, down with the Whigs, down with Lamb's gang,*" resounded on every side. Some one in the crowd continued shaking a string of four or five old wigs opposite Mr. Macdonald, and crying out "*Macdonald, change wigs.*" It was impossible to hear Mr. Lamb for an instant. His reported speech ran thus:—

He said, in spite of all the noise it was their pleasure to make, he would address a few words to those close to him. The day certainly had been unfavourable in every sense, but he trusted the sun would yet shine upon their success. Throughout the contest his opponent had ever prospered at the beginning of the week, and himself at the end; and he felt no doubt that equitable partition would continue the same to the close. Mr. Hobhouse had talked much of violent proceedings, and even murder, which he expected to be committed this evening.—He himself trusted too much to the justice, sense, and good nature of the Electors of Westminster, to apprehend any such occurrences; but if any such did take place, he conceived it more probable that those who had anticipated them, would know from whence they came. His Committee had certainly taken measures that there should be free access for his own voters to the poll, since the language of his opponent's supporters during the last week had been that of threats towards any one who should venture to exercise their suffrages in his favour. They had in fact hoped by intimidation to disfranchise those who were favorable to his cause. This access had been completely secured, and would be so to the close. This of course angered his opponents, who now endeavoured to throw upon his Committee the reproach of using those means upon which they themselves had placed their reliance. If, however, his opponent (for he could not hear him correctly from the clamour prevailing), meant the appellation of hired ruffians to apply to those who were disinclined to listen to him, he could tell him, that though he was at first heard with favour, the popular feeling was now taking a decided turn. Were this contest to last a fortnight longer, instead of two days, he could tell him, that the violent, unconstitutional, and un-British language that he held, would, before the end, drive from him all his supporters in that assembly, except perhaps a small factious band; and all those who now drowned his (Mr. Lamb's) voice with yells, would soon give him no interruption but huzzas. His opponent had, as far as he heard, occupied their time by a reply to an article published in a

Morning Paper. He (Mr. Lamb) had not conceived himself bound either to reply to any articles that might be published against himself, or vindicate those which might attack his opponent. His opponent, however, had for this article, as far as he had heard it, omitted to notice any thing in his (Mr. Lamb's) speech of Saturday; he had not heard him at all contradict that which he himself had then stated, namely, that but a short time ago, when Mr. Hobhouse was canvassing the University of Cambridge, he had, according to his (Mr. Lamb's) information, professed himself a Whig. If he had not denied this, it must be taken to be admitted, and then it seemed more than probable that this same Mr. Hobhouse, who now poured forth daily invectives against the Whigs, would, if it had suited his purpose with the people of Westminster, have declared himself one of that party as readily and zealously as he now abused it.*

Mr. Lamb then retired with his Whig friends; shortly after, the clinking of marrow bones and cleavers announced that he was proceeding to his Committee-Room, and a general move took place at his end before the hustings. The gang quitted their stations—the people cried out, “*there goes Lamb's hired gang with him.*” In an instant complete tranquillity returned. After a short pause Mr. Gale Jones stepped forward, but the cries for Sir Francis Burdett were so loud and imperious from the people in front of the hustings and the booths, that Mr. Jones could not be heard—he stood straining and stretching for a minute or two “*in act to speak, and graceful waved his hand,*” but at last retired.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT now was demanded by the thousands present—he came forward—handkerchiefs and hats were waved, and repeated cheers were prolonged until he began, when a dead silence instantly prevailed.

The worthy Baronet spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen,—I should have adhered to the resolution I told you I had adopted the other day, were it not that our adversary loses nothing by not being heard—he loses nothing by that marked disapprobation which, on so many occasions, you have expressed, because he has the means of disseminating through the daily press, what, if he had uttered here, would be immediately confuted, but which, wherever made, it is necessary we should confute.

Our opponent calls himself here all sorts of names, and he makes it impossible for any one who has heard him up to the present day, to state in an “intelligible” form what are the sentiments upon which he recommends himself to the choice of the Independent Electors of Westminster. He says, he was the friend of the late Sir Samuel Romilly, and is the friend of his principles—he tells

* Morning Chronicle.

you he was the friend of the late Mr. Fox, that he is the friend of Whig principles—the friend of this and of that, and of almost every thing—that he is the friend of the Poor! if he had added, of the Poor's Rate too, he would have said what is very material to his purpose; for I have no hesitation in stating, that the Poor's Rate has been a good friend to him; and has, I think, by the arbitrary and unconstitutional decisions which have been come to against Voters in arrears for Rates, given him a number which, had such decisions not been made, would have exhibited a majority for us on the Poll. So convinced am I that the decision respecting these votes will not stand the test of legal inquiry, that I do hope and entreat the unpoll'd Electors of Westminster will come down and tender their votes, notwithstanding any Arrear of Poor's Rate; for I have no doubt, that whenever the validity of these votes shall be before a proper tribunal, they will be established. This at least we may say for Mr. Lamb, whatever he may be the friend to, that he is not the friend to Freedom of Election.

I hope and confidently trust we shall shew Mr. Lamb that the Electors of Westminster are not to be cajoled by delusion, nor bullied out of their independence by hired ruffians. I hope the Electors will not be deterred from asserting their Rights by the *Whig practices* that are played off against them; practices only now, indeed, renewed, but of which the Electors of Westminster will show their opinion, by exhibiting a spirit too high to be subdued by them.—(*Cheers.*)

It was complained of on a former occasion, that the Report of your Committee charged the Whig Party and their great leader, Mr. Fox, with resorting to vile means in their former contests; with being guilty of those infamous practices; which practices the party denied had been in use, but which vile and infamous practices are now revived: and it is for the public to judge who is guilty of these acts. The Report did certainly charge the Party with being guilty of the foul crime of murder in their former contests. Their tumults were notorious; and whether the crime for which they are held responsible, be murder, perjury, or bribery, for all three were committed, must be left to individual observation and feeling. Mr. Lambton called this charge a foul calumny! Does he not know that *murder*, *perjury*, and *bribery*, were committed on former occasions, when contending factions disputed the Representation of Westminster. It is not now a matter of opinion, but a matter of *Record*. The same Gentleman also said that I had been once enlisted under the Whig Party—(*An Elector in the crowd vociferated "Nobody believes it."*)—I am sure that what my honest countryman says is strictly true, that nobody will believe it. He also says that I professed Whig principles at the Election for Middlesex.

Now this is astonishing ignorance of the fact. Never did any man shew more complete ignorance of the daily occurrences which are recorded in the Newspapers, than the gentleman who made this charge. He says, I never deserted Mr. Fox until after his death! I desert Mr. Fox! I never enlisted under him. *I never enlisted into either BATTALION of the well-trained regiment.* On the contrary, I denounced the enlistment of both parties. I declared in public when they coalesced together, that I belonged to neither, and that neither would ever do their duty to the public. *It was at the time that Mr. Fox came into power, that I lost my seat for Middlesex; and I lost it when he came into power because I would not connive at WHIG KNAVERY;* because I denounced to the Public the scandalous Coalition of the Fox and Grenville Party; that union of those who so long maintained the principles of Freedom, with those who had uniformly shewn themselves its most implacable enemies. I denounced their conduct at a time when Mr. Lambton ought to know few followers desert a leader: I mean at the time of his getting into power, and when he is making his ministerial arrangements. *That is not the moment which is generally selected for the desertion of a party—that is rather the moment when an interested man having selfish views would make his zeal more conspicuous to his leaders.* If I had been inclined to compromise my principles, I might have secured my Election, and escaped perhaps having imputed to me now this childish absurd charge of deserting Mr. Fox.

Though I lost the Election for Middlesex at that time, I might, if the seat had been an object to me, to promote any personal views, which no seat ever was or ever shall be, have kept it by a connivance at what I saw going on, and without being guilty of any positive act: but I disdained to compromise my principles. I told the Electors of Middlesex my opinion of the Coalition. I told them so at a time too when the general impression prevailed of the permanence of that Administration which was supposed to be immovable, because it united all the talents of the leading parties of the country; and when you recollect that by the conduct I then pursued, I had to encounter the opposition of the Whig Coalition, and of the previous Government influence, you will be astonished to hear that without giving away a ribbon, or influencing a freeholder, I polled on that occasion twelve hundred independent votes. This I thought to be as great an honour as any man could obtain from his countrymen.—(*Unbounded cheering.*)

Another foolish and absurd tale has been uttered by one of the Gentlemen on these hustings; in which he says, that I had forgot the debt of gratitude I owed to Mr. Fox. This is a debt which I confess I may admit, and still not know in what it consists. While

Mr. Fox opposed the tyranny of the Government of the country I stood by him with my feeble aid, until I saw what I thought to be a dereliction of his public duty. Whilst he supported the principles of liberty, no man can say I deserted Mr. Fox; but I never enlisted unde his party.—(*Repeated cheers.*)

It has been also stated, that I decried his talents. I know not who has poured forth such falsehoods, for I never did speak of the general conduct of Mr. Fox; I never can speak of it but as being that of a man whose private good qualities, whose goodness of heart and extensive benevolence, endeared him to all who knew him. So far from decrying his talents, I always thought him to be the most accomplished orator this or any other country ever produced. To talk of my attempting to depreciate the talents of such a man is to speak any thing but the truth. I never felt a more painful duty than when I was compelled to differ from him. I never felt a more painful duty than in being now called upon to justify myself against such an aspersion as that of not having sense enough to appreciate his abilities.—(*Fine fellow! noble fellow! and cheers.*)

As to the practices of this Election, Mr. Lambton charges me with being guilty of subornation of perjury, and what is his proof?—that banners and music are sent about to induce voters to come to the poll?—I believe there are some persons in the degraded state of this country who are lost to public sentiment. I believe there are others who would have the folly and the tyranny to call the sending forth these banners something like the crime of treason; yet I believe Mr. Lambton is the only man to be found who would attach the name of *subornation of perjury* to such a matter.—(*Loud laughter.*) He says, that I have found fault with Ladies for canvassing; I never did. What I did find fault with was, the conduct of Ladies of high rank who threatened honest tradesmen with the loss of their business if they did not vote as those Ladies directed them. It was for *compelling* such persons to do as they desired them; that is, to risk the ruin of their families, unless they voted against their consciences. This is what I complained of, and not such persons of either sex going about in a fair canvas. I have never asked how any tradesman with whom I am connected voted, nor did I ever wish to know. *It is PROUD INSOLENT to domineer in this manner over the man who serves you in the way of his business—(continued cheering.)* If he gives you the article which you want, and is paid for it in return, the obligation is mutual. I think it mean and ungenerous to look in any other light than this upon the tradesman who serves you honestly, and to whom you do no favour while you pay him the amount of his bill. Mr. Lambton asks, "Was it the same Sir Francis Burdett, to whom credit had been given by the Society of Concentrics at Liverpool, upon his stating

to them that he was ready and willing to support their plan of Reform? Was it the same Sir Francis Burdett, who made this declaration, that now came forward to accuse the Whigs of hugging infamy to their bosom, and to apply to them epithets of the most degrading description?"

Yes, it is the same Sir Francis Burdett that was willing to support the Concentrics at Liverpool; and it is the same Sir Francis Burdett who, after all that has passed here, is ready still to support the Whigs, provided they will pledge themselves to support any substantial or effectual Reform of the Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament. I have no private animosities to gratify, or private interests to advance. I can only feel an interest in promoting the general liberty of the country. Having this object only in view, I care not for the distinctions of party. I want too to know what are the Whig principles on the subject of Reform? Mr. Lamb says that he will follow Sir Samuel Romilly. What is Sir Samuel Romilly's *plan*? Let us know the plan of which he says that he will be the advocate, and if it be an honest Reform, I'll combat in the ranks with Mr. Lamb to promote it. But our opponents fly from particulars when they allude to Reform. And when you insist that they were once the advocates for Radical Reform, "O!" they say, "they never meant any such thing." What injustice do they not do to the memory of Mr. Fox, whom they pretend to revere, who was the Advocate of this Reform! My own ears heard him say, that he once thought some public good might be effected without a Reform in Parliament, but that he had since changed his mind, and was convinced nothing could be done without a Reform. I also heard him declare that he would accept of no part in any administration, high or low, of which Reform was not the basis.

I am charged with moving on different principles—I say in reply that I do not—that I now stand on the same position which I always occupied—it is my accusers who have changed, and who, like ignorant people at sea, imagine the land to be receding from them when they are in fact receding from the land.—(*Great cheering.*)

I am on the precise spot of ground on which I first placed my foot, and am opposed in principle in this contest to men with whom, in other times, and under other circumstances, I have co-operated—(*true.*) If you should have again Whig Ministers, it is far from impossible that I should sit on the same seat which Lord Castle-reagh and Mr. Canning will then occupy. I shall do my duty, and I trust you will do yours. By supporting the principle of Reform in the present crisis, you will raise your own character, and advance your favourite object, which is nothing else than a Reform in the

Commons House of Parliament, whose corruption is as notorious as the Sun at noon-day, whose burdens have pressed heavily on the country, and are now too heavy for the people much longer to bear. I exhort you all not to lose a moment in promoting this cause. I shall not cease my exertions for a single instant, and I hope you will not relax in yours. *If we BOTH do our duty*, be the result what it may, we shall at least have to say that we have brought through this great cause of the Liberties of our Country against the united power of all the factions and influence that our opponents have been able to array against us.—(*Shouts of applause.*)

The whole of this speech was heard without the slightest interruption from the vast audience, except such as arose from the repeated cheers as sentences carried conviction to the Electors. Indeed the Reformers may safely stand or fall by this reply of Sir Francis Burdett to all the charges which all the Whigs have been able to bring against the great Representative for Westminster. The wonder will be—how the young men, young as they were, would suffer themselves to be made the organs of statements so ridiculous and so utterly false; but after Mr. Lamb's congratulating himself on his increased popularity when he could not speak for hisses, and proclaiming Mr. Hobhouse's decreased popularity, when he knew that Mr. Hobhouse was opposed only by a gang hired by the Whigs,—after such double duplicity and assurance, the reader will not be surprised at any thing said or done by the Whigs, he will have still stranger things laid before him by and by.

When Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse had retired from the hustings amidst the applauses of the people, Mr. Bowie came forward. The notice taken by all the Papers, except the Chronicle, was—that the determination not to hear him was so decidedly pronounced, that he could not be heard. Indeed when Mr. Bowie had finished his attempt, there was an appearance so hostile to him amongst the people, that he thought proper to retire for shelter to the King Street Committee, where he was put out of the way of all future hisses and hootings.

The Whigs of the Chronicle, however, not having any more of Mr. Hunt's* speeches against Sir Francis Burdett to record,

* In the Morning Chronicle of Tuesday, March 2, appeared the following ungracious paragraph respecting Mr. Hunt:—

"We understand that Mr. Cleary has commenced proceedings against Mr. Hunt, as well as the Proprietor of the New Times and Champion, who have thought proper to give circulation to that person's calumnious attacks upon his character."

Mr. Gale Jones also seemed to have fallen from the height of Whig favor, for notwithstanding the Whig Reporter pretended to have heard Mr. Bowie, he said of the other orator:—

"Mr. GALE JONES said a few words, but we could not hear one word of what he said."

and indeed having now somewhat ungratefully dropped their late connexion with him, turned upon that individual, and thought proper to insert a speech sent to them by Mr. Bowie, without taking the least notice of the opposition encountered by that gentleman.

According to the *Morning Chronicle* then—

Mr. BOWIE said—Gentlemen, I have been blamed by a number of my worthy friends among the Reformers, for the part I have acted on this important occasion. I am now on my defence, and I have humbly to request your indulgence for a hearing, and then it will be for you to pronounce whatever judgment your deliberation and candour will dictate. By some persons, who are more distinguished for their vociferation and clamour, than for discretion and understanding, I have been branded as a turn-coat. It is difficult for me to say, whether this accusation is more contemptible for its absurdity, or its falsehood. My coat (meaning principles) is interwoven with materials that are in fact immutable, the wind may blow and the storm may pelt any quarter upon it, but still they remain steadfast, because they are founded upon a rock, and that rock is truth. A variety of circumstances conspired together on the 17th November, to prevent the Major's being then nominated with a chance of proper effect, and things were managed in such a way, as completely to paralyze the wishes of his most anxious friends, and as far as appearances then went, to the heartfelt grief of several persons, the Major was left entirely out of the question, and it was not until within a few days of the Election that I entertained the smallest idea that he would again be nominated. Besides, whatever part I acted subsequently to the 17th November, in lending my humble support to Mr. Hobhouse, it was solely under the express consideration of his entertaining precisely the same sentiments on the great vital question of Reform, as those which were published in a clear and unanswerable manner by my venerable friend; but when the evidence began to accumulate upon me, to the conviction that I was labouring under a mistake in this respect, I considered my obligations to continue my support to Mr. Hobhouse were in that case, as were indeed allowed by himself, to be entirely cancelled; because I had made up my mind, that I would give my vote to no man who would not honestly and manfully step forward and declare these his precise sentiments on that all important question. Although I had no hand whatever in bringing forward Major Cartwright till within three or four days of the election, yet the moment he was publicly announced as intended to be nominated, I was bound in conscience to renew my prior obligation of preferring him to any other man living; and it would be paying the two Honorable

Candidates a very bad compliment indeed to compare either of them to the Worthy Major—yea, it would be little short of insulting the feelings and understandings of these Gentlemen to draw such comparison. To illustrate this matter a little more forcibly, I shall quote as near as possible the precise words of the Honorable Baronet, Sir Francis Burdett, himself, in the hearing of two gentlemen and myself. The Baronet then said, "That no doubt from the immense services performed to the cause of Reform by Major Cartwright, he, of all others, presented the highest claims for the suffrages of the electors of Westminster, and were he to vote for any one he would give his vote to the Major;" and these sentiments being expressed, as I understand, to a number of individuals, it was fairly liable to be treated not as a matter of mere private opinion, but as a conviction which, if he had sincerely, fairly, and laudably acted upon, would have doubtless proved one of the great means in carrying, triumphantly, the honest and able advocate of the cause into the House; where, with the powerful support of the Baronet, they would have been enabled to do more for the furtherance of the grand question of Reform than any other two individuals could possibly accomplish. Gentlemen, let it not be believed, that whatever way the present contest should terminate, it will diminish the strength of the Real Reform Cause, either here or throughout the kingdom, one iota. The grand march of public opinion is such as to defy all the power of any body of men to arrest its progress towards the goal of universal freedom, that which is the birthright of every Englishman; and they ask no more—they have no right to be content with less. It is said to require great "bodily exertion," &c. to be an efficient Member of that House; what useful exertion is necessary that the energetic Cartwright would not lend his able hand to accomplish? Is a pugilistic combatant absolutely required for that House?—or is something like the Olympic Games now to be celebrated within the walls of St. Stephen's?—in which case the aged Patriarch of Reform, though still vigorous, might stand but a poor chance with such Gentlemen as ———. However it is perfectly evident that he is capable, and can and will do more work for you, the people, than any one among the youngest of them all; yet, the privileged class among the 300,000 inhabitants of this great and high spirited City, have rewarded 45 years of enlightened, patriotic, and unparalleled exertions in the public cause with 37 votes. The pen of the faithful and impartial historian will be best able to hold up this subject in its true and proper light, and do justice to the character of the excellent man whose cause as your cause I honestly vindicate.—The intelligent, honest, and brave Captain John Cartwright for ever, huzza!

The Chronicle of this day contained the following letter: announcing, that Major Cartwright had not withdrawn.

" 1st March, 1819, One o' Clock.

" Sir,—It being announced in your paper of this day that 'Major Cartwright has withdrawn,' I request you to correct that error to-morrow morning.

" Having been put in nomination—not by myself, but by others, such an act on my part would be presumption.

" From a gentleman who was immediately concerned in the nomination, I have been just informed that there is no such intention as that of withdrawing my name.

" I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

" J. CARTWRIGHT.

" James Perry, Esq."

The reader must now pretty well see the part taken by the Chronicle in this Election: he will have read Mr. Hobhouse's speech of this day, compiled as it is here from the Times, the British Press, and a note communicated by Mr. Hobhouse, which he held in his hand when he spoke: he will have seen the facts as to the hiring of the gang, and their comportment, as well as the conduct of the people; stated *exactly* as they occurred. After this, he is requested to look to the note below,* which contains the report given in the Morning Chronicle of Mr. Hobhouse's speech; and, when he has read it,

* "Mr. HOBHOUSE came forward amidst some applause, with much disapprobation. He felt that the state of the weather had prevented many of their friends from coming forward, and he could not but complain of the undue means to which the other side had recourse, for he knew that two men had been brought into the Committee-room that day in a bleeding state. He felt no doubt but that there would be murder committed that evening by a party who were hired, he believed, for the purpose. But he would yet prove to the satisfaction of the country, in a Court of Law, in a short time, that such hiring of ruffians was the case, and that they had been paid for the very purpose of making such confusion. It had been said that the friends of Mr. Lamb were denied free access to the hustings. This he denied, for he knew, and so did the other party also, that all had the same access to the poll during the Election. It was much to be deplored that such things should take place. Such had been the case when Sir Murray Maxwell was brought forward, and when a gang under the superintendence of Caleb Baldwin, who, as he was told, was peculiarly active on that occasion. He charged the other side with hiring that party to create a disturbance (*loud hisses and applause*). Here Mr. Hob-

he is requested to peruse the leading article, extracted from the Morning Chronicle of the same day.

"It is not very creditable to the Rump Candidate, that, in his speeches from the hustings, he does not scruple to hazard the grossest calumnies. That we should share in his vehement *Jeremiads* against the Whigs, we were prepared to expect; but that he should charge this paper with misrepresenting the harangues from the hustings, is a stretch of hostility beyond the limits even of Election warfare. It is, and has ever been, our invariable rule, in reporting the proceedings of any public Meeting, to state every thing that occurred with the most scrupulous fairness. Whatever may be our own opinion of the doctrines or language of a speaker, we feel it to be our duty to report his words as correctly as our ear can catch and memory retain them. Our commentary or animadversion on them would naturally come afterwards; but our readers are entitled to the correct text. And so, in the reports of what has passed at the hustings, the public will do us justice as to the fidelity of our statements. We have not omitted a single aspersion of the paper itself, nor a single personality against the Editor. We suspect that the true source of all the bitterness of accusation of *The Chronicle* is, that it has too faithfully interspersed with the eloquence of Mr. Hobhouse, the remarks that proceeded from his hearers, which, in most instances, were a reply to and a refutation, *instantly*, of his assertions; and yet we could not be faithful historians of this tumultuary scene, without recording those observations, neither adding to nor suppressing a syllable that passed."

Is any comment requisite?—Were it merely the editor of a paper who was involved in the disgrace of such barefaced falsehood, no notice would be here taken of the wonderful assurance; but this was the Whig organ—every thing said or done by the Whig candidate and Whig committee, was congenial with the repeated at-

house made a few observations on the article in our Paper of yesterday relative to his conduct to the Whigs, and he contended that the Whigs, as a body, had been neutral. He contended there was nothing whatever in what he had said to justify even the suspicion of enmity to the Whigs, for many of whom he had the highest respect. He saw, from the hired gang now before him, that there was no disposition to hear him; but surely it was not to be expected that his Committee would sit quietly by and hear calumnies vented against them without replying to them. He should not detain them longer than by merely expressing his regret that such an artifice should have been resorted to; but though it had, he was proud to say he still was confident that the Electors of Westminster would shew that while they lived they would be the consistent, indefatigable, strenuous, and successful champions of Radical Reform (*cheers and kisses*).

tempts to put an impudent cheat upon the public ; and for the instruction of the people of England, it is necessary that some record should be preserved of such singular traits of PARTY MORALITY.

The wits of the party made this day another attack on Mr. Hobhouse's father.—Here it is:—

LOVE OF PLACE.

Old Hobhouse once had got a name,
But lost for *Place* his better fame.
So now his son, a louder railer,
Loses his seat by *Place*, the tailor.
How fatal to the Hobhouse race
Is an excessive love of *Place* !

At the close of the poll this day, the Reformers issued the following hand-bill:—

“ REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

“ ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER !—The never-ceasing enemies, because the ever-grasping plunderers of the people, with all their craft, corruption, and terror, are yet but 517 a-head on the whole poll.

“ In two short days the battle must be lost or won.

“ The victory is in your power, it may be attained with perfect ease. Seven thousand Electors remain unpolled. They have only to manifest their will by their votes, and in two hours the triumph may be achieved.

“ He who delays coming to the poll, pretending to think his *single* vote of no importance, is guilty of patricide. The contest depends on single votes. AGAIN WE URGE YOU TO DO YOUR DUTY.

“ ENGLAND ! ALL ENGLAND expects you to place HOBHOUSE by the side of BURDETT, to represent WESTMINSTER.”

Some members of the *Society of Friends*, also issued a similar placard, and a large quantity of bills, inviting the Electors to come forward in behalf of the popular cause.

Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, addressed an immense body of people assembled in the yard of Fisher's rooms, exhorting them to do their duty by their fellow-citizens and themselves.

The Parochial Committees also wished to make another effort. One of them published an animated hand-bill, which is here subjoined.*

The greatest agitation prevailed amongst those who had seen the same cause triumphant six months ago, and had been confident of success on this occasion. Mr. Hobhouse in his progress through the streets was every where cheered, and received with cries of "*No Whig!*"—The walls were covered with inscriptions of "*No corrupt Whig Candidate.—No Coalition.*"—The efforts of the coalition, and particularly the hiring a party of bludgeon-men, had thrown an unpopularity on the person of Mr. Lamb and his cause, such as no Westminster candidate had ever met with. Sir Murray Maxwell was not so generally odious. Many there were who still entertained hopes of success, and the canvassing books still contained promises enough to place the popular candidate high on the poll. Tuesday had been the great day on the late Election, and the whole metropolis looked forward with painful anxiety to the next morning.

TUESDAY, MARCH 2.—FOURTEENTH DAY.

THE skies again declared against the Reformers. It poured torrents of rain the whole morning. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse appeared on the hustings a little before four. They were loudly cheered by the people in every direction. Mr. Lamb with the marrow-bones and cleavers moved from Henrietta-Street about

* "ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER!

"*TIME FLIES!*—Two days more and you must be victorious, or your enemies will have triumphed! If they trample down your Liberties and Independence, to what will they owe their success? Not to the justice of their principles, but to your pusillanimity!

"For shame, Men of Westminster! Why require canvassing? What can render it necessary, that those who are no more interested in the event than yourselves, should be compelled repeatedly to solicit you to do your duty?

"Let not any Elector imagine that he can find an apology for the misuse of his vote, or for his neutrality, in the debasing influence and corrupt example that prevail around him.

"Whether this contest terminate in your glory, or in your disgrace, depends upon yourselves, and decides whether you are willing to live free men or die slaves!

"Arouse immediately from your torpor, and let no man incur the reproach, that when the liberties of his country were threatened, he, by his apathy and indifference, aided the cause of Corruption, and checked the progress of Reform.

"Come, therefore, to the Poll without delay for HOBHOUSE, the Friend of BURDETT and Radical Reform.

"Committee Room for the Parish of St. Martin,
"Coach and Horses, St. Martin's Lane, March 1, 1819."

the same time. When he appeared on the hustings—the gentlemen with him and his party, which was this day in pay, to the number of 500, cheered him repeatedly. The people in front hooted and hissed more violently if possible than before. Mr. Hunt also appeared this day on the hustings, and was cheered by the hired party. The indignation of the people was very loud and decided against this individual.

The board was exhibited at the usual hour.

	Polled this Day.	Gross Poll.
Lamb	300	4289
Hobhouse	209	368½
Cartwright	0	37

The gentlemen and the hired party cheered—the people groaned and hooted, and cried "*No Whig!*"

Mr. HOBHOUSE came forward.—The hired party cried "*Off! Off!*"—the people and the company in the booths applauded loudly. When the struggle had somewhat subsided,

Mr. Hobhouse spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen,—I have still hopes that the independent Electors will rescue themselves from the thralldom to which the success of the unnatural coalition against them will inevitably condemn them. It appears, that the cloak which decency and shame first threw over this monstrous union is now laid aside; and that the Whigs are resolved to close their career as they began it, with securing the support of those who appeared in the suite of Sir Murray Maxwell at the last Election. If the Courier opened with wishing success to Mr. Lamb—I see, that a friend of the Courier, and a correspondent of the Morning Post, has stepped forward to conclude the contest, with endeavouring in his way to secure the success of the same gentleman. The person in question having himself come forward must excuse me if I keep him still before the public. Perhaps, gentlemen, you may have heard of Mr. Dennis O'Brien—he is not altogether a stranger to these boards, and trained himself for Election exercises in the well known Whig school, which some thirty years ago flourished in and about the neighbourhood of these hustings. Having been an active partisan of the Foxite Committee in Westminster, or as he in language all his own called it the other day, being "*one of the quintuple;*" he, by a transition not altogether without precedent in his party, passed over to the other side, and on the late occasion no one was more useful to Sir M. Maxwell than Mr. Dennis O'Brien. This worthy man continued his exertions for the same person after my nomination, and had his advice been followed, Sir M. Maxwell would have remained to fight the battles of the court. You may have recognized his Irish pen in certain long

declamations against the Reformers, which appeared in the *Morning Post*, and were called "*Westminsteriana*." Mr. O'Brien having seen his court friend retreat, has, however, looked with virtuous indignation on the efforts of the friends of freedom; and, though he has lost Sir M. Maxwell, now sees that in the Whig candidate there is "*another and the same*." He is skilled in Whig practice—he is skilled in Tory practice, and he wishes to show that he perfectly well understands what the Whigs would be at. He recognizes the traces of their ancient electioneering passion, and he is resolved, that as they opened their contest, so they shall conclude it. Accordingly he comes forward to give a death-blow to scurrility, sedition, and tyranny, so he qualifies our efforts, by giving a breakfast to the unpolluted Electors, whom, in return for his favor, he merely requests to vote for Mr. Lamb. You shall hear his polite card:—

"No. 21, Craven Street, Strand, Feb. 27, 1819.

"Mr. Dennis O'Bryen entreats of those Electors, to whose application at the commencement of the present contest he replied, 'that it was not his intention to take any part in the present Election,' now to come forward, and strenuously to support the Honorable George Lamb, who cannot, at all events, be suspected of any hostility to the British Constitution.

"He begs to add, that he shall be happy to see those Electors who are willing to oblige him, at his own house to breakfast, on Monday and Tuesday, the 1st and 2d of March, to proceed with him to the poll, and assist in giving a decisive blow to scurrility, sedition, and the most oppressive tyranny, under the mask of pretended freedom."

(*Loud laughter.—Cries of Shame! Shame! No Whigs! No shabby Whigs!*) Surely, Gentlemen, this is sufficiently intelligible, and I trust, that if any previous doubts remained upon your mind, you will now see who are the supporters, and what is the support of this friend of Sir Samuel Romilly—this friend of the poor man—this friend of the revolution—this friend of liberty. No doubt Mr. O'Bryen gives this breakfast out of pure love to the British Constitution. No one pays him for it: he is a wealthy patriotic individual, quite independent, who takes pleasure in feeding his fellow-countrymen as an encouragement to their public duty. Of course this is not treating—Oh, no! Mr Lamb's committee know nothing of the matter. Mr. O'Bryen is an honest volunteer, that is all, and is in the habit of doing these things. I must now, Gentlemen, allude to the extraordinary speech which I see set down to my opponent, as having been delivered by him yesterday. My opponent lays it down for law, that what I do not contradict, I must be supposed to acquiesce in. I appeal against this conclusion. I have not com-

tradicted one half of that to which, if time had served, I might have given a flat denial. However, that he may not complain of his mistatements being neglected, I shall take care, that what he said yesterday shall not pass unnoticed.

Mr. Lamb hints, that because I anticipated violence yesterday, I was likely to know from what quarter that violence would come. Certainly, Gentlemen, I was likely to know—I did know—I told you I did know—I told you, that a gang of ruffians had been hired by Mr. Lamb's party, and that dreadful violence had already been committed. I did not pretend any ignorance of the quarter whence the mischief would come, and I warned those who heard me to be upon their guard, and keep the peace.

Mr. Lamb says, that it is true his committee have taken measures that there might be free access for his voters to the poll. By this I presume, he means to say, that his voters have been formerly impeded in going to the poll. I deny it: he says, that my supporters have threatened his voters—I deny that also. Gentlemen, you know well enough whence these obstacles have come;—whence these threats have proceeded. Mr. Lamb has indeed given us a convincing proof of what sort of logic his reasoning is directed, when he calls knocking down our voters, nothing more than securing free access for his own. These, indeed, are singular expedients. Why did he not apply as we have done, to the legal officer?—Is setting the fighting men upon us, the way to give free access to the poll?

You think perhaps, that Mr. Lamb and his Whigs were really afraid of some violence. No, gentlemen, they had two motives for this insinuation; the one was to throw some odium upon us, and the other, to procure a cloak for the atrocities which they already meditated. It may also have entered into their contemplation to commit some disorder, and then to charge it upon us. Perhaps they long to see the household troops again parading round this square. This is all that is wanting to the already powerful aid of their court allies. If some such effort as we saw yesterday had not been made, the Whigs would not have been true to themselves; they would have left out one ingredient in that compound of trick and imposture which goes to the formation of their accomplished character.

But, Mr. Lamb says, that we have resorted to the same means—that is to say, that we have armed and organized a band of ruffians. I deny it flatly—he cannot prove it—he knows he cannot prove it.

Next comes a singular charge from Mr. Lamb: namely, that the interruption which I experienced yesterday, was a certain sign that the popular feeling had taken a decided turn for him, and against me.—(*It is false.*) I cannot presume to judge, whether I have ever possessed or retained the popular feeling. But, one thing I must say,

that for Mr. Lamb to make such an assertion, when he knew that the interruption given to me, and the cheers given to him, proceeded from those who had been drawn up before his committee-room in regular order. Such an assertion, I say, exceeds in hardihood any that was ever hazarded even on these boards. I am not so vain as to suppose, that in my individual capacity I had ever any hold on popular feeling. But, I console myself with thinking, that this assertion comes from the same individual who lamented that Sir Francis Burdett had also lost the same popular feeling. I console myself with thinking, that this decided turn of popular feeling was settled and resolved upon at a public-house; and I am not quite so clear of the said charge having actually taken place, when I call to mind, that all those who seemed to prefer Mr. Lamb to me, came with that gentleman to the hustings, and went away with him from the hustings, leaving the vast multitude exactly of the same mind as they have been from the first days of this Election. I must, indeed, thank our opponents for kindly taking care that no mistake should arise as to those from whom this "*decided turn*" arose. As to the popularity of Mr. Lamb which he hails with such modest assurance, it is certainly of the portable sort—like the goods of the ancient philosopher, he carries it all about him. Perhaps it is not saying too much, to declare that he carries it in his pocket. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) For my own part, I leave to the Whigs always to talk about popularity, and never to deserve it. I shall do what I think my duty, and put myself upon my countrymen for the verdict which they may be pleased to award.

But, it seems Mr. Lamb attributes this *decided turn* against me, not to his friends turning the corner of Henrietta-Street, and posting themselves here; but, to my "*violent, unconstitutional, and unbritish language.*" Gentlemen, these are hard words; but, thank Heaven, I fancy they do not apply to me. As to violence, I appeal to you. I appeal even to that faithless record of my speeches in the Chronicle, if I have ever disgraced myself by any unbecoming language—if I have ever descended to any personalities against my opponent—if I have ever dragged forward even his party, except as public men, and even then without specifying names, or holding up any one of them individually to public contempt. (*Voices, "No, you have not."*) With respect to my "*unconstitutional, and unbritish language;*" the words are perfectly indefinite, and they proclaim nothing, except that the Whigs have shifted their ancient ground, and having been called "*unconstitutional and unbritish*" by the court, now join the court in calling the Reformers *unconstitutional and unbritish*. This singular charge against me is a good comment on the Lamb and Liberty which I see on the placards. It seems to shew, that if Mr. Lamb and his Whigs come into place,

they will not want an excuse for having recourse to what their Whig Journal, the Edinburgh Review, calls, "the strong arm of the law;" and, that the "violent, unconstitutional, unbritish" language of the people will receive a wholesome chastisement, and be silenced by gagging-bills, by dungeons, and by dragoons. This charge is perfectly of a piece with that made at the beginning of the Election—that I was a revolutionist, and a friend of the French. This charge is perfectly becoming from a modern Whig against one of the people, and I leave my opponent to make the most of it.

But, now comes the most cruel of all his attacks. Gentlemen, he actually charges me with having been once a Whig. (*Laughter.*) He charges me with having canvassed the University of Cambridge as a Whig: a dire accusation indeed, and worthy a reply. Gentlemen, it is exceedingly natural for a young man, who has imbibed an ardent attachment to liberty, and who hears the word perpetually in the mouths of those who are in systematic opposition to a corrupt government, to call himself by the name given to that opposition. I have no scruple to say, that whilst I was yet a boy, and afterwards, I felt an attachment to what I thought were, or ought to be Whig principles, and I never pronounced the name of Mr. Fox, but with an affectionate veneration which the noble lessons of enlightened and liberal policy to be found in the speeches of that all accomplished orator had at a very early age instilled into my mind. Even at this moment I hold myself to be a humble pupil of the principles, which for so many years made him the delight of the English nation, and the admiration of mankind; and I trust, that by pointing out that part of his example, which shows him the radical Reformer of a corrupt system, rather than that portion of his career which displays him as the upholder of the same system, I am much more true to his memory and to his fame, as well as to his really sincere opinions, than those who now boast that they are his political descendants.

It is perfectly true, that when I prepared for a canvas of the University of Cambridge, I professed myself what is called an opposition man; and might, for aught I know, for that reason be considered as a Whig. This was five years ago. Even at that period I was favoured with a good specimen of what future experience would shew me to be the predominant passion of the Whig aristocracy. My wishes at that time were seconded by several of my associates, of great Whig names, who were too young to be infected with the selfishness of party-feeling; but a Whig nobleman, one not unknown to Westminster, chose to treat my attempt as a gross and violent intrusion upon the fair pretensions of his own party—nay more, of his own family—and gave me to understand that he had reserved the representation of the University for his son. He went

farther, and, like a true Westminster Whig, declared himself ready to support the court candidate in preference to myself; so pernicious did he think the precedent of allowing one of the people to trespass upon the premises reserved for the private sport of the true children of the party. Had my opponent here known any thing of the circumstances of the case, his prudence would, I think, have taught him to avoid a personal reflection upon a fact, which, when examined, serves to illustrate my doctrines, rather than to corroborate his own. Since the period to which Mr. Lamb alludes, I could refer to all those persons, some of them high in his own party, who have honored me with their intimacy, for the proof of that assertion which I here make, that I have at all times professed myself totally independent of party, and that, as far as a man who has never been called into public life may be said to have any principles, my principles have been those of the Whigs of 1798, in contradistinction to those of the Whigs of 1819. I have concealed from no associate that I have long thought that the Whigs have been gradually detaching themselves from the people: but I have equally openly confessed, that up to the last election in this place, I had not lost all hopes of seeing an union between that party and the people. But the events of that election, with which I was intimately acquainted, convinced me that it was in vain to hope for any such cordial alliance as would preserve for the people the free exercise of their undoubted rights, and save them from the encroachments of the aristocracy as well as from the influence of the Crown. The Representative of one of the first Whig families has a record of my opinion which I then adopted, and which I fear that no future good conduct of his party will enable me to change. From that moment I thought, that for a politician to call himself a Whig, would tend to aid a fatal delusion, and would teach the country to expect help whence none could ever be derived. From that moment I took that line which I intend to pursue; I declared those sentiments, by which I intend to abide to the end of my days. That I formed no hasty estimate, the events of this election have, I fancy, fully proved: nor is it my fault, if, in proportion as my experience becomes more instructive, and the characters of others develop themselves more clearly, I am forced to acquire the conviction, that the Whigs as a party are not born for the salvation of the state. As for the insinuation of Mr. Lamb, that if it had "suited my purposes," I should have professed myself a Whig on this occasion, I will not remark on the propriety of his pronouncing such a judgment on one of whom he knows nothing ill. This is not the language of open political controversy—it is the language of vulgar personal resentment; and, I am sorry to observe, that, without my having let drop a single expression in personal

disparagement of my opponent, he has indulged in this line of argument, or rather of invective, from nearly the outset of the contest. One thing I will tell that Gentleman—that it would have “suited my purposes” to have professed myself a Whig, and that he must know, as well as I know, that a very few expressions of apology for seeming hostility in the Report of the Reformers’ Committee, would have softened down his patrons, and would have prevented him from being raised to that bad eminence which he now occupies in the eyes of the people of Westminster. But I was not base enough to secure the neutrality of his party by such concessions; on the contrary, though I made no attack on the individuals of the party, I thought it my duty explicitly to state, that I considered their combination as fatal to the interests of the country and to the cause of Reform. It would have “suited my purposes” to be reserved on this point, had my purposes reached only to obtaining a seat for Westminster; but I may fairly boast that I had higher views, and that I scorned to obtain by my silence a single supporter whom I might lose by my sincerity. The Whig of the Chronicle dares to talk of treachery; he dares to pretend that my sentiments were not known until the Report of the Reformers appeared. If they were not known, how came the Whigs to act from the day of my nomination in November last, as if they knew me to be hostile to their party? How came they first to start one Whig, and then to try to start another? How came their Chronicle to open by scoffing at me, and to maintain a silence more inimical to me than even the attacks of the court papers? No, Gentlemen! I deceived no one: But I am willing to say, that if to look up to the principles professed by Mr. Fox, when he said that he would not come into office without a radical reform in the representation of the people; if that be Whiggish, I am a Whig of that school; yet I am not such a Whig as Mr. Lamb; I am not a Whig of that party who, from a fit of resentment, come forward to crush the inclinations of the people of the metropolis; I am not one of that party who would employ any means to obtain any ends. I am not one of that party which calls the people revolutionists, innovators, unconstitutional, unbritish. I am not a Whig, who prefers a Tory to a Reformer. I am not a Whig, who would unite with the meanest and most atrocious of mankind to destroy the hard-earned fame of a great public character, whose sole reproach is his unshaken independence. Gentlemen, I shall here withdraw, leaving my cause in your hands. You have still amongst you sufficient numbers to overwhelm your adversaries; and, were the election to last fifteen hundred days, instead of fifteen, I would never retreat from a post to which I have been called, as I believe, by the voice of the people.

Mr. Hobhouse drew back amidst loud applauses.

Mr. LAMB came forward, and was received, as usual, with unequivocal tokens of public hatred, which his gentlemen friends and his hired gang tended only to increase. His popularity now seemed indeed to have taken rather too *decided a turn* to allow of his saying any more on that topic. The Chronicle attributed to him the following speech, which the uproar rendered inaudible to all but the Reporter of that paper.

Mr. Lamb said the poll of the day was in his favour, and his majority continued to increase. One day, however, remained, and he hoped his friends would not relax their efforts when so near the goal. Their opponents had got a force to bring up, which they ought to meet at least with equal numbers, and not suffer their majority to be diminished. Mr. Hobhouse had said that he should be on the hustings at the last moment, and he could assure them he would be there also. In spite of the clamour, he had a letter that he must read, in order that it might be communicated to the public. Mr. Hobhouse had brought forward a Mr. Manby to complain of having been ill used by his partizans. Now, he would shew them what sort of an Electioneerer this Mr. Manby was. They had heard many complaints of mean tricks, arts, and compulsory means used by his supporters; they would now find that Mr. Hobhouse's supporters did not disdain arts and threats of the most paltry nature. The letter was addressed to a highly respectable tradesman, who had put his name to a requisition in his (Mr. Lamb's) favour.

"Sir,—I am so ashamed to see your name to the inclosed paper, (the paper referred to was from the Committee of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, requesting the Electors to take effectual measures to secure the return of Mr. Lamb), that I shall take an early opportunity of calling to close my account with you.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

H. MANBY.

"98, Wimpole-street, Feb. 27.

"My boxes I shall send for, and when you have become an M. P. be pleased to remember you have a pair of pantaloons of mine, that I desire to have sent home.

"Mr. Thomas Baker, tailor,

"Bedford-street, Covent Garden."*

His opponent had said, he (Mr. L.) carried his popularity in his pocket, but he could point out another place where it was to be found; and that was, on the poll as it now stood. As they would

* But Mr. Manby was no supporter of Mr. Hobhouse; he was not an elector. Mr. Baker happened also to be Mr. Lamb's tailor. Mr. Manby wrote a long letter upon this subject, which it is needless to insert.

not hear him, he would retire, and recommend them to go home, and prepare to come in better humour to-morrow.

Mr. HUNT presented himself. The execrations from the whole multitude in front, except Mr. Lamb's gang, who cheered, were violent and excessive: some shook whips at him—others elevated a ladder—one man dangled a rope—not a few pelted with loose mud. The screaming and howling pierced the very ears of those under the echoes of the hustings. But the Chronicle, still true to itself, inserted an apparently transmitted copy of Mr. Hunt's speech, in these words:

On the first day of the Election, or rather the day of nomination, I told you that I hoped to be on this day congratulating you on the success of Major Cartwright; but although I cannot do that, I can do more, I can most sincerely congratulate you upon the downfall of that execrable Rump, who have always been his greatest enemies. I congratulate you upon the complete defeat and disgrace of Sir Francis Burdett, who, although he has been the openly professed friend of the Major's, has now proved to every reflecting person in the country, that he was all the time his secret and treacherous foe. The result of this contest will prove of greater importance to the cause of liberty than any election that has occurred in the memory of man. It has not been only a contest whether Mr. Lamb, Mr. Hobhouse, or Major Cartwright should be elected now for Westminster—not only whether a proud and arrogant individual should, by the agency of the dirty Rump, become the perpetual Dictator for Westminster—but this contest will decide at once a matter of still more importance, whether this would-be Dictator, whether Sir Francis Burdett himself shall ever again be returned as a Representative for this City. To-morrow will decide the fate of the arch-apostate—of the greatest political trickster that ever disgraced the annals of any country. If we succeed in pulling down the great Colossus, let us not be surprised at hearing a crash when the monster falls, but let us still go on, for now the time is come when the Baronet will be shewn to be chop-fallen. I shall conclude with saying, that he is as great a political apostate as ever the universe produced; and will you doubt, or can you doubt that his hopeful *protégé* will be the same. Yes, the *protégé* may be what his dictator and tutor pleases, but you will not, you cannot, you do not. The fate of the poll is now settled, and can any one doubt that the Baronet is now fallen into utter disgrace? Yes, he is disgraced, and so will every man guilty, like him, of dereliction of principle.

It now became a service of real personal danger to Mr. Hunt to continue his speech; but the Chronicle closed its account with the

comment "*loud applause*," resolved, as it were, to tell one last lie, and to make it appear that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hunt were yet pretty equally poised in the balance of public favor.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was here called for most loudly by the whole audience—he came forward—in vain did the gang attempt to interrupt—the thunders of applause bore down their opposition. He made a long and animated speech, which it would be injustice to abridge, and of which the papers preserved unfortunately but a short imperfect sketch.*—It is necessary, however, to mention, that when Sir Francis made use of the expression, "*I can assure you, upon my honor as a gentleman*," a loud horse-laugh was set up by the gentlemen at the back of Mr. Lamb. Sir Francis stopt an instant, but not a flush was observed to ruffle his manly features. The people, however, raised the most indignant shouts of "*Shame! shame!—there are gentlemen for you—oh, never mind them, they are only the gentlemen!*" Mr. Lamb looked less red than usual, and Mr. Lambton became a little paler than before. Sir Francis proceeded with the same tranquillity as ever. The newspapers did not notice this characteristic trait; they seem to have an interest in concealing how much superior the man may be to the gentleman.

When Sir Francis had concluded his speech, an attempt was made, of which the Chronicle, in its wish "*to state every thing that occurred with the most scrupulous fairness*,"† took no notice what-

* The following is the notice given of it in the British Press, and may serve to shew what chance the Reformers have of being fairly treated, even in the fairest papers.

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT then came forward, and in a long and animated speech followed Mr. Hobhouse in his invective against the Whigs, and charged the friends of Mr. Lamb with reviving the old practices of violence in the contest for Westminster. He said that the speeches of Mr. Lamb were sent in a corrected state to the public papers, and that therefore he (Sir Francis) felt himself absolved from the silence he meant at first to have adopted when the Electors would not hear the Candidate to whom Mr. Hobhouse was opposed. Mr. Lamb had indeed offered to become Mr. Hobhouse's tutor. This reminded him of what was said of a great man of old, almost as great a one as Mr. Lamb—that

"He would become in one revolving moon,

"A statesman, lawyer, tutor, and buffoon."

"The Whigs had said that he had acted with them; so he had when he thought them right, but without enlisting under their banners. As well might a gang of robbers, who on their return from plunder saw a house on fire, and assisted the honest neighbours in putting it out, charge the latter with being a part of their gang while they committed the robbery, as the Whigs charge him with being of their party, because he occasionally voted with them on public grounds. The Hon. Baronet again complained, in pointed terms, of the exclusion of voters, because they had not paid their poor's rates, and returned to the old ground of his attack on the Whigs."

† See the article extracted from the Chronicle at the close of Monday's proceedings, page 274.

ever: but having said that "the Baronet concluded amidst much applause with great disapprobation!!!" ended thus: "The crowd then dispersed in the utmost order."*

But the Chronicle having noticed the "great disapprobation" with which the Baronet was received, and the "loud applauses" which crowned Mr. Hunt's conclusion, thought it as well not to mention that

Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL came forward to make a second trial of what might be done by his popular name. But come forward he did—and hissed and hooted he was, and that much more loudly and pertinaciously than when he first appeared on the hustings. Whether he spoke, or what he said, remains to this day unknown. The cries of *No Whig! No Boroughmongers! Burdett for ever! Hobhouse for ever!* drowned his efforts and drove him back. It was in vain to try another Whig, and Mr. Lamb and his friends retired. Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett withdrew from the hustings to Fisher's rooms, where they again addressed the people from the windows. Sir Francis still exhorted the Reformers not to despair, but to make one last effort. Even at this period, some of the friends of the people did not totally despair, although such was the general feeling of regret, that in many instances the electors addressed Mr. Hobhouse in the Committee-room, shaking hands with him with great emotion in the most affectionate manner.

The Committee published the following hand-bill:

" REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

" LAST DAY OF THE POLL.

" ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER!—The Minions of Corruption and the Tools of Power appear hitherto to have been successful; but let not this DETER you from the field—VICTORY MAY YET BE YOURS! Remember that the greatest of Battles was gained after victory had hovered over the standard of your Enemies, and appeared to have decided the contest!

" LET NOT ANY OF YOU DESPAIR! A few and a very few of the steady Friends of Reform, who hold themselves in reserve, are sufficient to snatch from those who are already boasting of their unhallowed triumph over your Liberties and Independence, the laurels with which they are prematurely decorating themselves!

* The British Press, though a Whig paper, would not go this length; it recorded thus:—

" Lord WILLIAM RUSSELL came forward, he said, to rebut the charge against the Whigs, but the Noble Lord was unable to obtain a hearing.

" The business of the day was then closed, in the midst of great uproar."

"Let every one act, then, as if the issue depended on HIM-SELF ALONE! It DOES depend on EACH of you. It is by INDIVIDUAL VOTES that the Victory must and will be achieved!

"COME FORTH INSTANTLY! In a very few hours the moment of action will have passed away. What will not be the REMORSE each of you will feel who has not done his duty! What will not be the PRIDE of those who will have it to say, "My Father was one of that Noble Band who SAVED their Country!"

"The Poll commences at Eight, and will close precisely at Three o'Clock."

Up to the last moment it was too apparent to be denied, even by the coalition canvassers, that the majority of electors was decidedly in favor of the Reformer, notwithstanding the despair of some, the disfranchisement of others, and the fear of the great body, who had many of them suffered by losing their customers at the recent election, had given the apparent majority to Mr. Lamb. It was, towards the close of the election, the common practice of this gentleman and his friends, when canvassing, to say, "if you will not vote for me, promise to stand neuter;" nor was any argument of any kind thought too disgraceful to back this request. The Reformers never made an effort to seduce a single promised vote. The Whigs, however, never thought themselves safe until the close of Tuesday's poll. Then, indeed, Mr. Lamb dropped his long advertisement, and prepared the following short annunciation of victory.

"TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF
WESTMINSTER.

"Gentlemen,—After my Opponent's short and unimportant success on Monday, I am again at the head of the day's Poll. The Contest will continue but one day more; in that, however, my Opponent may bring up a considerable force. Let my Friends come forward, and add increasing numbers to our Triumph.

"I have the honor to remain,

"Gentlemen,

"Your obedient and faithful Servant,

"GEORGE LAMB."

"Committee Room, Henrietta-street,
March 2, 1819."

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3.—LAST DAY.

THE polling commenced at eight o'clock. Early this morning a programma * of Mr. Lamb's Chairing was printed and circulated. The car provided for that ceremony was in readiness, and every arrangement was made which could contribute to adorn the triumph of the successful Candidate; and certainly the chairing would have taken place had it not been for an over anxiety on the part of the Whigs to get up a show of popularity, the reality of which their party had totally lost during the present Election. As nearly every paper gave an entirely false colouring to the events of this day, and the Times newspaper in particular now chose to follow fortune, and under the pretence of a record of facts, to declare strongly against the Reformers, it is probable that the reader may now for the first time be informed of an incontrovertible truth, namely, that the riot at the close of the poll originated *solely from the hired bludgeon-men and the gentlemen horsemen arrayed by Mr. Lamb's committee.*

The minutest circumstances of the preparation made by the Whigs came to the knowledge of the Reformers. Several of the persons hired, but not paid, at the rate of five shillings a day, confessed the facts, and afterwards made them publicly known by suing the Bow-street officer (Bond) for their wages; and by means of some repentant individuals who by letter apologised to Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse for being seduced by their poverty into a compliance with the directions of Messrs. Bond, James Macdonald, and Prescott, it was established that the Whigs hired upwards of six hundred bludgeon-men, headed chiefly by the fighting men, and gave them every direction necessary for their proposed operations.

Had it not been for these men there would have been no disturbance. The people who were assembled in one impenetrable mass, not only in front of the hustings but in every avenue leading to them, were not only without any arms, but evinced, as one newspaper, the British Press, was honest enough to own, "the most decided reluctance to encourage any warfare, and also a deter-

* " THE CHAIRING OF MR. LAMB.

" The Procession will go along the South-side of Covent-garden, Russell-street, Catherine-street, down the Strand, by Charing Cross, along the Haymarket, down St. James's-street, and Pall-Mall, to Mr. Lamb's house in Whitehall.

" All Gentlemen meaning to attend on horseback, will be pleased to assemble at the East side of Covent-garden at half-past two o'clock; Carriages will draw up before that hour on the left hand side of Bedford-street and Henrietta-street, coming by King-street."

mined spirit to expel from their body the intruders who were disposed to commit violence."

The appearance of Covent Garden towards the close of the poll was such as will not readily be forgotten by any one who was a spectator of that extraordinary and imposing scene. The windows and tops of every house which could command a view of the hustings were so completely covered with spectators as to hide the buildings, and to present, as it were, one immense animated mass of eminences of all shapes and sizes. The booths in front of the hustings were covered in a similar manner, and the very poles seemed formed of men one above another. The ladders and the ropes communicating between the stands were in like manner covered with living clusters, which seemed to become more thick every instant, and to menace the fall of the frail materials on which they swarmed. From a shilling to half-a-crown was given for the risk of breaking a leg or an arm, and the number of competitors for the danger and delight increased as the day advanced. The immediate spectators of the hustings remained in one impregnable body, and no disturbance or even difference of opinion seemed to prevail amongst them. But those on the outside of this immense crowd were not so tranquil. About two o'clock, the marrow-bone and cleaver men began parading from Mr. Lamb's Committee-room round the neighbouring streets. A large body of his bludgeon-men now ranged before his Committee, and then dispersed in several parties, which encountered the people proceeding to Covent Garden, and instantly commenced an assault, driving them before them, and crying "*Lamb for ever.*" The people were totally without weapons, but they returned to the charge, and the bludgeon-men had not to boast of a victory. Some of them lost their arms, which were brought to the Committee-room in King-street. They were not confined to sticks; in one instance an old sword was wrested from one of the band. About half-past two, a general effort was made by the marrow-bone and cleaver and the bludgeon-men to drive away the people who were in possession of the space at the opening of Henrietta-street.* But the assailants were driven back and disarmed, and the multitude began now to feel highly irritated at the repeated attempts made on the part of the Whigs to beat down the popular inclination in behalf of the Reformer. In no one instance did the affray commence with the people, but always with those who were armed and paid for the purpose. Yet with all the provocations already received, it is probable that nothing serious would have occurred had not the Whigs made a still more extraordinary effort to intimidate the people. About a quarter before three, some twenty gentlemen

* The British Press confessed this also.

gaudily arrayed in buff and blue colours, on horseback, with bludgeons in their hands, rode up Henrietta-street. The most conspicuous of these were Lord Sefton, Lord William Russell, Mr. Lambton the younger, Sir Ronald Ferguson, Colonel Ponsonby, Mr. Graham of Netherby, Mr. Fazakerly, Mr. Charlton, and Lord Molynaux. The buff and blue horsemen advanced in a body towards the hustings. The people gave way, to the imminent peril of those who were thus squeezed backwards under the booths. The Whig gentlemen succeeded in trampling down those who were in their way, until they had actually forced themselves up to Mr. Lamb's corner of the hustings. The crowd in front who had hitherto been perfectly peaceable were now pushed over one and another. Those on the hustings were perfectly astonished at this extraordinary attempt, and loud cries of "*shame! shame!*" were now heard from them and from the spectators in the booths. News was carried to the Reformers' Committee, that the Whig horsemen were trampling down the people and beating them with their sticks. In fact, the hissing had scarcely begun before the horsemen charged gallantly upon the unarmed multitude on foot, and began to exercise their cudgels with no little vigour. The multitude recoiled, the fluctuation of the vast body assembled was felt as far as the Piazzas; and for a minute it appeared that the people would have submitted and been pushed off the field. The buff and blue gentlemen had got their horses' heads up to the railing of the hustings, and brandished their cudgels, shouting "*Lamb for ever.*" But after a pause of a moment, the people recovered from their surprise, and in an instant the air was absolutely darkened with the showers of mud that shot across the space before the hustings, and covered the horsemen and their horses from top to toe. The Whigs fought, some of them, stoutly with their sticks, others backed out as quickly as possible, and in a short time the whole party were in flight, galloping different ways, and followed by those whom they had trampled upon and cudgelled. The horsemen were some of them pursued and hooted and pelted, as far as Grosvenor-square.—Lord Sefton was covered with mud in Pall Mall.—Lord William Russell was also exceedingly bedaubed.—Sir Ronald Ferguson was knocked off his horse. A considerable alarm prevailed in every quarter of Westminster; but not for the Whigs—for the friends of the Reformers, seeing the array of horsemen, and the hired bludgeon-men, were apprehensive the people would be overpowered, and many enquiries were made as to the personal safety of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse. The discomfiture of the buff and blue horsemen was witnessed with shouts of laughter whenever a pelted straggler was observed flying through the streets. A crowd of ladies assembled at Brookes's club-house, in St. James's Street, to see the charring of the man whom they were taught to think

the popular Candidate, received a hasty message to depart, as it became every minute more apparent there would be no charring this day. Indeed, had all those before the hustings who had been insulted by the hired gang and beaten by the horsemen, left Covent Garden in pursuit of the fugitives, serious consequences might have been apprehended; but by far the greater part of the assembly satisfied themselves with driving the intruders away, and returned to the peaceable possession of their places before the hustings. After the defeat of the horsemen, the bludgeon-men, however, still continued to fight—but these were also discomfited, and many of them were severely handled with the weapons wrested from themselves. They withdrew fighting into Mr. Lamb's Committee-room, and were there followed by the indignant populace, who smashed in the windows. Mr. Lamb and his friends withdrew into the church.—Tranquillity was restored in front of the hustings before the poll closed, and though the battle was raging in sundry streets, there seemed not the least diminution of numbers in the spectators. At three o'clock, Mr. Hobhouse appeared. He was accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. D. Kinnaird, Mr. Robert Knight, Mr. T. T. Clarke, and several of the Committee. When he came in front there was an unusual cheering from the whole assemblage. The men waved their hats—the other sex in the booths clapped their hands and waved their handkerchiefs. The air resounded with shouts of "*Hobhouse for ever!*" and "*No Whigs!—No bludgeon-hirers! No corrupt Whig—No coalition.*" Not a single note of disapprobation was heard from the vast assemblage. The great crowd in the hustings prevented it from being known when Mr. Lamb had taken his post. The moment, however, he was discerned, a loud heaving and groaning commenced. "*Down with Lamb and his bludgeon-men!*" was repeated, and the general indignation excited by the sight of him far exceeded any tokens of public hatred that had saluted him on previous days of the Election.

When the board was exhibited, the numbers were—

	Polled this Day.	Gross Poll.
Lamb	177	4,465
Hobhouse	180	3,861
Cartwright	1	38

The High Bailiff came forward :—he was hissed and hooted so resolutely that it was impossible to collect any thing he said. It was, however, understood that he made the usual declaration, and stated that the Honorable George Lamb had been duly returned. When he drew back—

Mr. LAMB stepped a little forward :—but no words can convey

an idea of his reception. The people seemed to consider him the author of all the violence committed upon them, and would not hear a single word which he said, or rather attempted to say, for even the Chronicle gave him no regular speech :—

He thanked the Electors for the high honour they had done him in placing him at the head of the poll, and he sincerely trusted his conduct would justify them in the choice they had made. To attend to their interests, and do every thing in his power to promote the prosperity and happiness of the Citizens of Westminster would be his earnest study. He would not detain them longer, as he saw it was impossible to be heard, but he could assure them that he would endeavour to discharge the trust they had committed to him; in such a manner as he hoped would give them satisfaction, for in doing so he would be acting in a manner most gratifying to his own feelings.

He looked very red and angry, and bowed and retired into Covent Garden church, not wishing to trust himself with those who had, as he said on Monday, taken a *decided turn* in his favor.

Mr. HOBHOUSE was now loudly called for:—he stepped forward. The whole multitude uncovered instantly, and received him with enthusiastic shouts of applause. A general clapping of hands was heard from every quarter of the market, when the spectators had the least sight of the hustings. After the applause had subsided, he spoke thus :—

I come to bid you farewell :—the Election is lost ; but I trust we have not lost our honour ; of one thing I am sure, that we shall find more consolation in such a defeat, than our antagonist will derive from such a victory. The combination of almost the whole Aristocracy of Great Britain, the union of the two great political parties of the day, have been too much for the people of Westminster, and the numbers of those who, from a false view of the question, or allured by promises, or terrified by threats, have been brought against us, has been greater than that of the Electors, who have had the intelligence to see their duty, and the courage to perform it—not that I mean to impute base motives to the body composing the majority, many may have been conscientiously persuaded of the propriety of voting as they have done, but I do not scruple to say, that delusion and terror, and influence of every kind have been the powerful agents that have secured the triumph of the coalition.

Gentlemen, let us see which of us has the most reason to be contented with the event of this contest ; on the one hand we see a Candidate, fairly chosen from amongst the people, by the people, and for three months seeking every occasion, by which he might collect the wishes and intentions of the Electors, with respect to

himself and to his cause. We see the same person labouring, with a large body of the Electors, in expelling the Court Candidate, and, by seconding his endeavour, the people of Westminster seem to avow, that his cause is their cause, that he stands upon principle solely, that he is an honest advocate of that principle—they prepare to intrust him with their rights—previously to their choice the Electors, connected with the nomination, a large body, between three and four hundred, think fit to lay down the principle on which they have proceeded, their exposition involves the censure of the Whig party; that party take the alarm; their pride is wounded; their resentment roused, they resolve on a conflict; and forget that their antagonists must be the people—that people whose rights they affect to defend, whose miseries they pretend to deplore. They forget that in order to shew they had not apostatised from the cause of Reform, the most curious of all measures would be to attack the Reformers of Westminster. They forget to examine whether, even if they had cause for resentment, it might not be unseemly to indulge their anger and run all the risks of exciting a more than civil war between the various denominations of the popular party.—They allow their resentment to prevail: for, Gentlemen, Mr. Lambton has certainly told you the truth: and all that we see in Mr. Macdonald's requisition, and Mr. Lamb's address, about the general call for a man of different principles from mine, was merely the excuse, it was not the cause of the opposition. The Report of the General Committee was the cause, and the sole cause. The Whigs then came into the field against the Radical Reformers; they chose a man to whom no party was likely to make any objection; they dubbed him a Reformer and a Friend of the Revolution; in order to catch the people;—they instructed him to abuse me as a Revolutionist, in order to make him please the Court. They succeeded to a miracle, and in four and twenty hours the coalition between the partizans of the Government and of the party was complete. The whole organization which had done such wonders at the commencement of the last Election, when Maxwell and Romilly divided 2,334 votes, began to act against the people; but the Whigs were still anxious for every little that might help them. They did not refuse the good fellowship of any one who had the solitary merit of hatred of the people of Westminster, and of the man whom the people had chosen—not only the man but the measures were sanctified in their eyes by the end in view; every species of cajolery, and the menaces and the allurements which could operate upon the weak and the selfish were brought into play; means were resorted to to disfranchise the Electors who appeared at the hustings, and terror was used to deter others from coming to tender their votes; and to crown these their

honest endeavours, they concluded their struggle by a recurrence to downright violence and force. It is not surprising that these efforts should have overpowered those proceeding solely from principle.

But is it possible that an honest man of the party can derive any consolation from the numbers that have been brought to vote for the Representative of such a coalition? Will any Whig, who looks back upon the old principles of his party, feel a sincere triumph in a victory obtained not by the Whigs, but by the retainers of the Court—not by the people, but by the plunderers of the people? I doubt not, however, that we shall hear of the victory of the Whigs in Westminster—that we shall be told that the people have returned to their allegiance, and will be treated with corresponding kindness; but the truth is, such another victory will ruin them. Gentlemen, our antagonists may have the idle honour, but I feel sure that the Reformers will have the true glory of this contest. A great good has been besides already achieved; it has been shewn that there are in Westminster 3861 Radical Reformers, who, against every disadvantage, and at the risk of every sacrifice, have dared to record their names as supporters of a great public principle; who have manfully looked danger and corruption in the face, and have sought no fee or reward beyond the satisfaction arising from the fulfilment of their duty. Another great good has also been obtained—the modern Whigs have been completely unmasked. The public can be no longer mistaken as to their real character and pretensions—the increase of the aristocratical power, the immediate satisfaction of their own selfish passions, must henceforward be the acknowledged motives of all their conduct, for the attainment of which no sacrifice of principle will be thought too great, no associates too vile and unworthy. Henceforward the Radical Reformers will learn to rely on themselves, and on themselves alone. Another service may also have been done to the people by this contest—the Reformers will have shaken off from them those to whom I have scarcely once alluded during the whole of this contest. What they have been pleased to say of me was all in their lawful calling. They have been shaken from the Reformers, but they have stuck, like the vile straw, to any thing else that it meets—

“ Coached, carted, trod upon—now loose, now fast,
“ And carried off in some Whig’s tail at last.”

I wish the Whigs joy of their new friends. As for myself, Gentlemen, I have to express a most sincerely grateful sense of the confidence which so large a portion of the unbought, unbiassed, free Electors of Westminster have been inclined to repose in me; that they should have thought me a fit Advocate of their great cause, is to me a sufficient repayment for whatever exertions I may have made in behalf of the liberty of my fellow-citizens. Our intercourse is to

end sooner, perhaps, than might have been expected; but the Actor who leaves the stage in the first act, may play his short part equally well with him who stays upon the stage until the curtain falls.— I have done my best to justify the good opinion of those who selected me for the choice of the people, but as I was selected from the people, and have laboured for the people alone, I shall not be surprised at finding that whatever approbation I may receive will come from the people only. I did not enter blindly into this career. I knew what I was to expect; I knew that by declaring my sentiments freely, I was entering my name upon the list, not only of public, but of social proscription; but I repent not, and like Dean Swift's girl who ran away with the footman, would do it were it to be done again. Again, Gentlemen, I bid you farewell; I retire into the ranks whence you called me forth; whether I shall be again in the van depends upon yourselves, but depend upon it I shall never be found behind in the great cause of public liberty.

The whole of this speech was received with repeated shouts of applause, with many cries of "*Hobhouse for ever!*" and "*Never mind, we'll have you yet.*"

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was now called forward amidst every demonstration of public regard, not to be exceeded by that shown at any period of his long career. Even during his late triumphant progress through Westminster, the unanimity was not more decisively displayed.—He began—

Gentlemen,—It seems our opponents are not so proud of their triumph as to stay for any length of time before you on this last day of the contest—(*Mr. Lamb only remained a few minutes on the hustings.*) It is with great satisfaction, I place myself before you on the present occasion. I feel proud of addressing so large and enlightened a body of the Electors of Westminster—(*A laugh from some of Mr. Lamb's friends on the hustings.*) Gentlemen, I do not wonder that persons who can think success justifies the means by which that success was obtained, should be surprised at the feeling of satisfaction I retain, notwithstanding the disappointment of our hopes. I have been accustomed to struggle against all the efforts of power, not indeed with a confidence of success, nor yet without producing some effect in the course of my exertions—(*Loud applause.*) I augur from the approbation of this immense multitude, who participate in my feeling, that my efforts have not been made in vain. I have always found the people of Westminster the advocates of the true principles of liberty—of those true principles of English liberty which declare that all power emanates from the people at large. I am therefore not disheartened by the result of the present contest—least of all by the tricks, delusion and artifice of the base Coalition party that has been arrayed against us. Nor am I dismayed by the efforts of all those *hired ruffians*, whom the

people of Westminster have driven before them, whenever they dared to shew their face here. I am not disheartened; for I see the genuine sentiments of liberty are every day spreading more and more throughout the country; the beneficial effects of which I trust we shall live to see realized.

Mr. Hobhouse has said, that he wished you farewell—it may possibly not be a very *long* farewell; even the present state of the poll justifies us in concluding that the general feelings and sentiments of the Electors of Westminster are with us, and there is little doubt that on the next occasion, you will again turn to Mr. Hobhouse, as the Champion of your Rights and Liberties. There is hardly a prospect that the independent Electors of Westminster will have again to encounter such a combination of parties, hostile to their liberties, as that which has now opposed them; because, besides the old tricks of the Whigs, the violence of their adherents, the almost universal union of almost all the strong parties which Corruption could marshal against us; and besides all the base means that were taken to give effect to these operations, we have also to regret the falling off of some persons who were usually among our most staunch supporters in Westminster—(*Cries of "WISHART."*) I do not mean Mr. Wishart, Gentlemen, for he was always a *Whig*. (*"Then 'tis STURCH."*)—Yes! we may indeed accuse Mr. Sturch of a dereliction of his public principles—he has certainly not done his duty by us on the present occasion. You all know that there are others who have also deserted us; but, Gentlemen, it would be invidious to name them. There never was before such a combination of untoward circumstances to retard the progress of our cause. Our *Whig* opponents have little cause of triumph in the issue of this contest. I think that though they may give Mr. Lamb a seat, they will unseat themselves in the estimation of the public. Ours is the triumph of the heart, we enjoy our triumph in the hearts of the people of England—a triumph, the enjoyment of which, in success or in defeat, we can always secure, because it consists in the triumph of our own consciences, when we know and feel we have discharged our proper duties. This is a triumph, Gentlemen, of which no honest man can be divested—this is a feeling which we shall never resign, for the paltry result of an Election gained by iniquitous means. I should have been ashamed of success, if it were to be procured by such means as have been resorted to by our opponents on the present occasion. I should scorn a triumph obtained by such unworthy means!

I shall now, Gentlemen, take my leave of you, and with increasing esteem for your character and principles. I trust that our closer connexion will rivet still stronger the bonds that unite us. I am now, as I ever have been, ready and willing to assist in every manner in which I possibly can, in the promotion of that great object which

we have all in view—the re-establishment and maintenance of the
**CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF
 ENGLAND!**

When Sir Francis Burdett had concluded, amidst thunders of applause, Mr. Hobhouse again stepped forward, and, making a farewell obeisance to the people, retired with his friends. When he had arrived at Fisher's rooms, he was again requested to say a few words to an immense concourse who followed him, buzzing, into the yard. He again took leave of the people; and, afterwards, individually of many of the Committee, who had been most active in promoting his election. When he mounted his horse, he was accompanied by a large body of the people, shouting and clapping hands, to a considerable distance from Covent Garden. The multitude at the hustings soon dispersed, and the hustings were taken down without any attempt at plunder.

And here the transactions of the day would have closed had it not been for the above-mentioned attempts of the bludgeon-men and Whig gentlemen; in consequence of the resistance still offered by the former of these paid partisans, who fought in small bodies, but were of course worsted and overpowered by numbers. A considerable disturbance prevailed in many parts of Westminster, and no Whig symbol was suffered to appear. Every attempt to show buff and blue was instantly put down. And after the affray of the horsemen, it would have been dangerous to attempt a chairing. The skirmishing continued before Mr. Lamb's committee-room in Henrietta-street during the speeches, and several individuals were much hurt. Mr. Lamb himself was obliged at first to entrust his person to constables, and to retire to a house in Henrietta-street; but when the speeches were over, the multitude increased, and the people, shouting "*Hobhouse for ever!*" paraded the streets during the evening now without any opponents. The crowd, however, thus collected, consisted chiefly of boys, for the men had contented themselves with repelling the bludgeon-men and bludgeon-hirers. And even these boys, as one, and that even a Whig paper observed,* offered no violence to a single passenger, or committed the least excess, except against the windows of those whom they thought had taken an active part for the Whigs.† This, however, appeared sufficiently alarming to the Whigs to justify their having recourse to the last expedient of fear; and to complete the history of their war against the people, they called out the military. Mr. M. A. Taylor arrived in great alarm at the home-office, and requested that *both* the regiments might be instantly turned out. Both the regiments were not turned out, a troop or two arrived about six o'clock,

* The British Press.

† The windows broken were those of Lord Sefton and Lord Castlereagh, of Mr. Wishart, and of three or four of Mr. Lamb's committee-rooms.

and the successful candidate, in the midst of a posse of constables, and escorted by dragoons, accompanied by a crowd of children, hissing, and hooting, and bleating, was removed from the neighbourhood of Covent Garden to his house at Whitehall.

Such was the termination of this memorable struggle. The Whigs succeeded in returning Mr. Lamb: but they completely failed in their great object of making Reform unpopular, and pulling down the character of Sir Francis Burdett. So far from attaining to this to them desirable ends, they became more odious to the people than this party has ever been since their fall from power in the beginning of his present majesty's reign. In their disappointment of their chief aim, they seem totally to have forgotten their minor success, and although they were in almost exclusive possession of the London morning press, no self-congratulations hailed the triumph of Mr. Lamb. On the contrary, the Whigs in the Chronicle appeared merely conscious to administer to their irritated vanity, and to account for their downfall in public opinion, still ventured to continue the base practices of the Election. The paper that recorded the final majority of Mr. Lamb, obliged, alas! to hint at the pelting of the Whigs, positively charged that pelting upon the speeches made by the Reformers:—The Morning Chronicle of Thursday, 4th March, says, "The result of the contest for a member to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster is at length ascertained, and rational sentiment has prevailed. Universal Suffrage and its Champion were sorely disappointed; but what feeling can justify the violence that has been offered by them to the friends of Mr. Lamb. Lord Sefton, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Whitbread, General Ferguson, and many other names that with any other party would have commanded respect, were assailed by ruffians in the most brutal manner—*instigated* at least by the speeches of Radical Reformers. All parties join to express one common sentiment of horror and disgust at their conduct."

But in the succeeding four-and-twenty hours, the ridicule and disgrace with which the Whigs felt that they were overwhelmed,

* It may be seen from *the horror and disgust!!!* expressed by Mr. Canning in his speech on the State of the Nation, how completely "all parties joined in this common sentiment;"—"ribbons and rubbish, with laurels on their heads and brickbats at their heels," &c.

The same paper contained five farewell witticisms, which we impartially insert. The reiterated attack on Mr. Hobhouse's father, as well as that on tailors, is highly characteristic of the gentlemen Whigs.

MUTUAL DISSATISFACTION.

Zounds! cries Sir FRANK, a pretty job,
My seat is lost by helping HO.
Plague on't, quoth HO, in furious fret,
I've dish'd myself to serve BURDETT.

BEN

seems to have borne so hard upon their self-love, that they broke out into a much more violent attack on their late adversaries, and more pointedly against Mr. Hobhouse. That the reader may see what the spirit of party when duly stirred will dictate to those who make it their peculiar boast, that they are gentlemen and men of honour, he is favored with this curious specimen of personality.

Thus speaks the faithful Chronicle of the next day:—

“The public could not fail to remark, that the speech of Mr. Hobhouse from the hustings was literally the same in all the papers of yesterday. It was *circular*, and therefore the words of it cannot be disputed by that gentleman. We have, then, in this document the proof, that at the very moment when the rabble in his interest, inflamed by the harangues of Sir Francis Burdett and himself, were breaking into the Committee-house of Mr. Lamb, and were perpetrating murderous attacks on every gentleman who supported him, Mr. Hobhouse did not hesitate to ascribe to the Whigs all the atrocities of the day. What shall we think of a person who, in the face of the riot that he had provoked, casts it upon his opponent? And what, in like manner, can be thought of the Honorable Baronet himself, who in that scene of fever and fury gave his followers a hint

BEN AND JACK.

To gain a *place*, by purchased seat,
Was BEN the patriot's case;
JACK changed the plan, and JACK is beat—
He'll gain no seat by *Place*.

INTELLIGIBLE ORATORY.

HOBHOUSE, they say—a studious youth—
From Greece has learnt to speak;
When of Reform he spake, 'tis truth,
To us it all was Greek.

EPIGRAM.

“England,” quoth Tailor PLACE, “shall quickly see,
That I have power to make YOUNG HOB M. P.
'Tis strange, indeed, if I, so devilish clever,
Can't make my mob roar out, HOBHOUSE *for ever!*”
’Tis stranger still that SNIP should not reflect,
The mob may *bawl*, but others may *elect*.
Yet let not HOBHOUSE feel too much displeasure,
Poor SNIP has only taken a *wrong measure*.

March 3.

AN ELECTOR.

You be at LAMB—but let it pass—
You find that *Be-lamb* beats the ass.

See BOOK OF NUMBERS.

of the conduct of a most respectable tradesman, whose eyes had been opened to the levelling and destructive doctrines of the Rump, and who had consequently left his side? A more pointed denunciation of an individual was never made, and it was fortunate for Mr. Sturch that his house was not in the direct line of the rioters.

"The mischief committed in different parts of the town was considerable. The house of Lord Castlereagh is, for the time, rendered uninhabitable; the extensive front of Mr. Wishart's premises was completely demolished; and the same destruction took place at the committee-rooms in Henrietta-street, in Park-place, and the British tavern, and at the Newcastle coffee-house; but what was still more horrible, the gentlemen who appeared on horseback to shew respect to the successful candidate, escaped with difficulty from being murdered; and yet, with all this staring Mr. Hobhouse in the face, he presumed to charge the employment of ruffians on the Whigs!"

The Whigs were perfectly aware that they had the daily morning press at their command: to strike a blow against the Reformers when the election was over, was, in effect, to strike those who had their hands tied. On the appearance of this article, the Reformers' committee drew up a counter statement, declaring and offering to prove that the violence had proceeded solely from the organized force of the Whigs. Hoping that this statement would find admission into a paper pretending to impartiality, they sent it to the Times. The paper was returned, with this comment on the back,—"*We do not admit it, knowing from our personal knowledge, the statement to be false.*"

The Morning Chronicle also peremptorily refused to insert it; it appeared, however, in some of the daily and in most of the weekly papers, as follows:—

"Sir,

"In consequence of the misrepresentations which have been made respecting the tumults which took place at the close of the Westminster Election, the Committee who conducted the Election in favour of Mr. Hobhouse request you to state—

"1. That the Committee are in possession of the most distinct evidence, that on Saturday and Sunday nights, several gangs of prize-fighters, watermen, and others, were hired by persons who acted on behalf of Mr. Lamb, and were directed to obstruct the approach of the friends of Mr. Hobhouse to the poll, and to make the most discordant noises they possibly could, at the time when Mr. Hobhouse or his friends were speaking.

"2. That the persons thus hired, were paid by men well known

to the Committee; who went to Mr. Lamb's committee-room in Henrietta-street, and received money for that purpose, from Mr. Macdonald, the chairman of Mr. Lamb's committee, and Captain Prescott.

" 3. That the persons thus hired, paraded the streets in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden to the great terror of the inhabitants and passengers, calling out '*Lamb for ever!*' and knocking down and grossly ill-treating all persons whom they supposed favourable to Mr. Hobhouse.

" 4. That the terror occasioned by these bands of ruffians issuing from various public-houses, and particularly from the Brown Bear, in Bow-street, was such, that many tradesmen shut up their shops.

" 5. That several of these bands of ruffians were arranged in order, and marched down to the hustings through the several streets of the neighbourhood, and took their respective stations with all the regularity of military bodies, filing off before their leaders at the word of command.

" 6. That Mr. Hobhouse personally gave notice of these transactions to the High Bailiff.

" 7. That similar notice was given to the Magistrates at Bow-street, and several respectable Electors, friends of Mr. Hobhouse, offered themselves to be sworn in as special constables to preserve the peace, but that the magistrates declined all interference therewith.

" 8. That the persons of these ruffians having become known to the crowd assembled before the hustings, they became, as was natural, extremely indignant at the continued ill-treatment they received from them.

" 9. That the irritation thus excited was very great, at the time when the gentlemen who intended to grace Mr. Lamb's chairing, approached the hustings, flourishing the heavy sticks with which they were armed, over the heads of the populace; that signs of this irritation were elicited, but were not accompanied with violence, until the gentlemen made a bold and desperate charge with their horses upon the crowd, striking at them in every direction.

" 10. That this appears to be the true cause of all the tumult which ensued.

" 11. That the Committee on the part of Mr. Hobhouse, never did directly or indirectly employ any person whatever, to make any noise before the hustings, or to offer any obstruction or annoyance to Mr. Lamb or his friends, or to any person whatever, and they confidently challenge proof to the contrary.

" The Committee would not have troubled you with this detail, but for the attempts which continue to be made to persuade the

public, that it was the Committee who conducted the election of Mr. Hobhouse who hired the ruffians.

" By order of the Committee,

" G. W. SERVICE, Secretary.

" *To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

" *Crown and Anchor Tavern,
March 5, 1819.*"

A similar denial was then made by Mr. Hobhouse, in the form of a letter to the Chronicle; and this *false* statement was found to be so true that not even the Whigs dared to controvert it.

" TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

" Sir,—As long as I had the means of contradicting on the Covent Garden Hustings, the attacks against me admitted into the Morning Chronicle, I sought no other refutation, nor should I now think it necessary to deny that which all the Inhabitants of Westminster know to be false; were it not that your paper circulates beyond the metropolis, and those at a distance from the late scene of action may believe an imputation to which no reply has been made; I must be allowed, then, to answer a paragraph in the Chronicle of this day, in which I find myself charged, first, with "*inflaming the rabble in my interest to the perpetration of murderous attacks on every gentleman who supported Mr. Lamb*"; and, secondly, with *presuming to charge the employment of ruffians on the Whigs.*"

" If in any of the speeches delivered by me on the Hustings, or elsewhere, there can be found a single expression tending to *inflame* any body to "*the perpetration of murderous attacks,*" let my word henceforward pass for nothing, and let the Chronicle be regarded as the fountain of truth. On Monday last, I was informed at the Committee Room, in King Street, that Mr. Lamb's friends had hired a band of prize-fighters and ruffians of other descriptions; and two men who had been dreadfully cut and bruised about the body and head by these ruffians, were examined by the Gentlemen of the Committee, and by myself. On receiving the necessary information, I applied in person to the High Bailiff for protection for those proceeding to poll for me; and a similar application was made by some of the Committee to the Sitting Magistrate, at Bow Street. Immediately previous to my proceeding to the hustings, Mr. Manby and another gentleman informed me, that they had been obliged to fly for their lives from a party armed with axes and other weapons, calling out "*Lamb for ever!*" and driving every body before them. With these gentlemen I went upon the hustings, and complained of the violence resorted to by my opponent. But I must

refer to the speech made by me on that day, to shew that so far from provoking any retaliation, I earnestly exhorted the vast concourse assembled before the hustings to keep the peace. My words, as I find them reported in the British Press, are as follows:—"He solemnly recommended them to refrain from any breaches of the peace, and to leave such acts to their opponents. Above all things, he begged of them to be tranquil, and assured them, they should see justice done upon the offenders who now assailed them." The second imputation against me is, that I, knowing the violence committed on Wednesday last to have originated with *the rabble* (the modern Whig term for the people), *presumed to ascribe to the Whigs all the atrocities of the day, and to charge the employment of ruffians on the Whigs.*

"To this I reply, that to the friends of Mr. Lamb, call them Whigs or not, as he pleases, I do again presume to ascribe the origin of all the atrocities of the day. It is notorious, that until the appearance of the bludgeon-men in Covent Garden, no violation of the peace had taken place. I do presume again to charge the employment of those bludgeon-men upon the friends of Mr. Lamb. The Committee for conducting my Election are in possession of a list of a great number of those ruffians, prize-fighters, and others, under their respective captains, hired to groan and hiss whilst Sir Francis Burdett and myself were speaking, and to hustle the voters proceeding to poll for me. The Committee know the instructions given to them, from the mouths of the very individuals to whom they were given. A body of these ruffians came to the Committee, with the insidious pretext of offering their services as a counter-force, and were instantly dismissed. The whole of these details may be presented to the public on some future occasion. It may be sufficient for me at present, solemnly to defy the supporters of Mr. Lamb to disprove that ruffians were hired by them. It may be sufficient for me at present solemnly to defy the supporters of Mr. Lamb to prove that a similar iniquity can be justly charged upon my supporters. Again I repeat, that whatever violence was committed on Wednesday last, can, in its first origin, be charged to those only who foolishly thought, that, by the menace of an armed mob, and the array of a score of buff and blue horsemen, they could overawe the great body of the public, and give to the Representative of the aristocratical influence in Westminster, the appearance of being the true favorite and free choice of the people.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN CAM HORHOUSE.

"Friday, March 5, 1819,
43, Clarges Street."

This letter settled the question. The Chronicle made no other reply than by the following shuffling paragraph:—

“Unless Mr. Hobhouse fancies that he can bring the public to believe that the Whigs hired ruffians to break their own heads, he but wastes his time and paper in denunciations that only gratify the taste of his own partizans.”

Whether any of the ruffians hired by the Whigs, broke any of the Whigs' heads, has not appeared; such a thing is not quite impossible: for several of these poor creatures repented of their practices, and, perhaps, forestalled a little revenge for the bad treatment which they afterwards met with, in not being paid for their attendance. It may be observed, that to reduce the above supposition to an absurdity, by asking if the Whigs would ever do a silly thing, is a pleasantry quite worthy of the Chronicle. The Whigs did once “*build up a stone wall to knock their own heads against.*” So, at least, said one of their party; and with such a precedent, who knows but they paid for their own pelting. Before, however, Mr. Lamb could see Mr. Hobhouse's letter, or the paper written by the Committee, that gentleman thought fit to write one of the most singular examples of grumbling congratulation, that ever dropped from the pen of a successful candidate. He even then continued to charge the Reformers with having hired ruffians.

“TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

“Gentlemen,—the cause of Independence and of Rational Principles has triumphed, and I have now the difficult task to perform of expressing my gratitude to those who have obtained this victory. I can only plainly say, that to all who have so strenuously exerted themselves in my favour, to all who have honored me with their votes, and to that large body who were ready to come forward, but whose suffrages were unnecessary to swell our ample majority, I return my sincere and heartfelt thanks.

“The celebration hitherto usual on such occasions was marred by the inflamed hostility of the tumultuous adherents of my opponent. Let me thank them also for having contradicted, by this conduct, the repeated statements of my Opponent and of his Nominator, and proved how false and futile were the assertions that would fix upon my supporters those attempts, upon which, it now appears, they themselves had placed their last hope and reliance. Has it been this ebullition, insignificant to us, and profitless to them, which has emboldened the Committee of my Opponent to declare, that we have obtained no triumph? If a triumph is to be conferred by those who can so easily be stimulated by artful harangues, to insult the

unprotected female and unprepared passenger, and to injure, to the extent of their daring, all my supporters, whose property or persons may have come defenceless within their power, I gladly resign such a triumph to those who value it, content with the suffrages of the peaceable Electors, and proud of the confidence which has conferred on me the arduous but inspiring task, of asserting their interests in the British Parliament.

" Upon this occasion, I am well aware that I am much indebted for the support I have received, to the disapprobation of my Opponent's principles and conduct: when I shall again solicit it, I hope it may be given from approbation of my own.

" I have the honor to remain,

" Gentlemen,

" Your very obliged and faithful Servant.

" GEORGE LAMB.

" *Whitehall, March 3, 1819.*"

Mr. Hobhouse having already given the serious denial to the charge of hiring ruffians, thought it best to leave Mr. Lamb to his own reflections; and, being probably unwilling to accuse any gentleman of submitting to the infamy of propagating a falsehood, now notorious, treated the allegations of that gentleman merely as the petulant retorts of a forward boy, disappointed of his plaything. Indeed, Mr. Lamb seemed more angry at being balked of a ride in his *Chair*, than pleased with having gained his Election.

Mr. Hobhouse published the following address:—

" TO THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

" Gentlemen,—in general, recrimination between rival Candidates closes with the poll; but Mr. Lamb, in his Address of Thanks to you, has thought fit to state, that he owes his majority, not to your approbation of him, but to your disapprobation of me. I may, therefore, be allowed to remark, that Mr. Lamb might, in gratitude for the service done him by his late professions, have attributed some share of his victory to them: to his friendship for 'the principles of Sir Samuel Romilly;' to his friendship for 'the glorious principles of the Revolution;' to his friendship for 'shorter Parliaments and more extensive Suffrage;' and to his friendship for 'the poor man!!' It seems, however, that according to approved Whig practice, these professions have no sooner served the turn than they are laid carefully by in the candidate's wardrobe, to keep clean for a future Election. They were, no doubt, intended as useful stepping-stones to aid his awkward strides towards his threatened

popularity, although he now affects to stand solely on the minute fragments of my shattered reputation.

"The artful barangues which he charges me with having made, in order to stimulate you 'to insult the unprotected female and the unprepared passenger,' might, had there been any foundation for the charge, have been something to the purpose; but where is his gratitude, when he devotes not a single line to commemorate the exploits of his canvassing Lords and Ladies—of his buff and blue cavalry—and of his much-injured bludgeon-men; and allows the horror of my principles and conduct to run away with all the honor and glory of having made Mr. Lamb Member for Westminster! The soldiers, who were doubtless called out to swell the triumph of 'Lamb and Liberty,' may also complain of having escaped his grateful recollection.

"The plaintive tone of my late opponent's address may, perhaps, make you suspect that my prediction has been accomplished, and that he is in a much worse humour, upon his success, than I am, under my defeat.

"Perhaps, the Whigs, too, begin to find that they have gained nothing by this Election—perhaps they begin to find that they have not pulled down the fame of Sir Francis Burdett—perhaps they begin to find that they have thrown no discredit upon the Reformers, and that the only loss of character has been sustained by themselves. It is possible they are already laughed at by those who joined them against the People, in order to make them ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of the People—it is possible the better part of them already meditate a recantation, and a return to their duties. For the present, however, the party must be left huddled altogether, with their new friends of the Treasury, and those other strange bed-fellows with whom their 'misery' has brought them acquainted.

"It now remains for me to repeat my thanks for the confidence with which I have been honored by so large a body of the free and unbiassed Electors. I may surely be permitted to boast, that being one of the People, relying on the exertions of the People, and fighting the cause of the People, without any means of control or influence, save that arising from zeal, independence, and principle: opposed equally by the Ins and the Outs, by the tools of party and the tools of corruption, and the innumerable band of the hungry retainers of both, I have, notwithstanding, had the satisfaction of seeing nearly four thousand of my fellow-countrymen, in spite of menaces and allurements of all sorts, record their conviction that I should prove an honest advocate of their rights and liberties.

"This is distinction enough for me. It is pure; and it must be permanent, unless, by future misconduct, I forfeit the good opinion

of my disinterested supporters: in that case, the disgrace will not be theirs, but mine.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"With much respect,

"Your faithful and obliged Servant,

"JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE.

"Friday, March 5, 1819,
43, Clarges Street."

After perusing the two advertisements, the reader is requested to compare the style of the successful gentleman representative of the gentlemen of the metropolis with that of the defeated *inflammatory* representative of the rabble. When the contrast is assisted by the knowledge that the gentleman was hazarding an accusation which he should have known not only to be false, but applicable solely to his own partizans, it may create some little surprize to be told, that the chief charge made by the Whigs against the people is their want of good manners and good faith. The Reformers would have no objection to stand the comparison, by referring to the whole conduct of Mr. Lamb, and to the whole conduct of Mr. Hobhouse during this election. The Whig gentleman might have, perhaps, some excuse for breaking out on the hustings, where he was hissed and laughed at to his face; but his address is a deliberate performance. If he knew that his own friends had hired the ruffians, his falsehood was a *deliberate* falsehood; if he did not know that the Reformers had hired ruffians (and how could he know what never took place; and what Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse had repeatedly dared their opponents to prove?) his crimination was a *deliberately* unjust and malicious assault upon innocent men; if he was aware, as his own eyes might have made him aware, that the affrays were begun by his own armed partizans, his attributing those affrays to the artful harangues of his opponent, was a *deliberate* perversion of fact, and a deliberate wanton attempt to ruin the character of Mr. Hobhouse.* If he knew that he owed his election to the extraordinary efforts of his gentlemen canvassers of both parties, and to the employment of aristocratical and government influence, which fact was apparent to all England, his attributing his success to the wicked principles and bad conduct of Mr. Hobhouse, was also a *deliberate*

* The reader will see, when he comes to peruse the trials, *Wishart v. Burdett and Place*, and *Sefton v. the Same*, appended to this volume, that the hiring of ruffians was distinctly proved upon Mr. Lamb's Committee; and that the particulars of their conduct were only kept out of sight by the defendants being prevented laying them before the court, by the assertions of the very members of that Committee, that "there was no regular Committee"—NO REGULAR COMMITTEE!!

assault upon an individual, whose principles and conduct might suffer, indeed, by a vague charge, but would bear the most minute examination; and who had never, during the whole contest, let drop a single personal reflection against Mr. Lamb. Had such a deliberately personal accusation, full of reputed and bare-faced falsities, been made by one of the people against a Whig gentleman, would any terms of reproach been sufficiently severe to chastise so insolent and good for nothing a scoundrel? Mr. Hobhouse, however, will, it is believed, be judged to have taken the proper notice of this attack. To have been wounded by a paltry pop-gun, after having stood the whole artillery of the party, would, indeed, have been a lamentable close to his long and arduous exertions in behalf of the independence of Westminster.

The usual means of assault being nearly exhausted—the great guns of the Hustings having been silenced; the Whigs thought they might as well conclude their battle with a little sharp-shooting from the small arms in reserve. Mr. Lamb seemed resolved to have the last word of Mr. Hobhouse, by the singular attack which he introduced into his letter of thanks; and, lest Sir Francis Burdett should also depart too peaceably, forth came the worthy Mr. STURCH, to conclude as he had begun, with falling foul of his ancient associates. It will be recollected that Mr. STURCH had put in his vote against the nomination of Mr. Hobhouse; thinking, like Fabius, that every thing was to be gained by delay. Now it is not out of any wish to be over severe with a person to whom the cause of Reform in Westminster has been under no small obligation, that notice will be here taken of the last effort of this respectable citizen. It is only from a wish to show, that by some fatality, or from the nature of the party to which they were attached, all the antagonists of the Reformers on this occasion, from the first to the last, from the highest to the lowest, seem to have forgotten, that not only honor, but even prudent policy, requires a decent adherence to truth in all statements of contemporary facts.

First, then, we will give Mr. STURCH's letter, begging the reader to arrest his attention upon those passages marked with an italic letter, on which it will be endeavoured to make a suitable, and, it is hoped, a satisfactory remark.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE. ”

March 4th, 1819.

“ Sir,—Nothing could exceed my surprise on reading in your Paper of this morning, a passage in Sir Francis Burdett's speech, as reported in your account of the proceedings at the final close of the poll in Covent Garden; and you must forgive me, if I confess,

that I doubted its accuracy, till it was confirmed by two other Morning Papers, which I immediately consulted. It appears that I, who conscientiously, and for no other reason than because I thought it right so to do, have supported the worthy Baronet with all my mind, and with all my strength, during nearly twelve years, from the moment when he was first thought of as our Representative, down to the present day, and who to this hour, have never spoken of him but in terms of respect and affection, have suddenly fallen under his displeasure, and am, in the most public manner, denounced by him as a *criminal*. Sir Francis Burdett said, 'that he could not help regretting that many of their friends had fallen off. Mr. Wishart had always been a Whig, and, of course, had acted consistently, both in this and the former Election; but he felt deep regret in saying, that Mr. Sturch had been guilty of dereliction of principle.' (a) The worthy Baronet, indeed, does not take the trouble to point out the overt acts from which this dereliction is to be inferred; and I now publicly challenge him, in the face of the

(a) We begin with remarking, that notwithstanding Mr. STURCH's diligence in consulting two other Morning Papers, he still seems resolved to follow his blind guide, the Chronicle, who left out that Mr. Wishart and Mr. Sturch's names were successively proclaimed from the crowd, and were only then commented upon by Sir Francis Burdett, in consequence of what had been already said amongst the people. The reason why the Chronicle chose to disfigure this fact, and why Mr. STURCH chose to prefer the fact thus disfigured to the real truth, is too clear for any comment. It makes all the difference in the world; whether Sir Francis himself designated Messrs. WISHART and STURCH by name, or whether he remarked upon those individuals after they had been already named by others. The Chronicle, so diligent in putting down what he called "the instant refutations" given to Mr. Hobhouse's assertions from voices about the hustings; of course left out those voices that called out the names of STURCH and WISHART. His purpose, and, we are afraid, Mr. STURCH's purpose, was falsely to represent Sir Francis Burdett as a denouncer of individuals; whereas Sir Francis actually excused one of the two most obnoxious to the people, as being in constant attendance upon Mr. Lamb, and certainly would have said nothing of Mr. STURCH, had he not been already named. What he did say was only confirmatory of the remark before made amongst the people—a remark founded upon notorious fact, that "Mr. STURCH had not been found a supporter of his old principles upon the present trying occasion."

world, to shew that I have, by any action of my life, contradicted any one principle, moral or political, that I have ever professed.

"The worthy Baronet very kindly states, as an apology for Mr. Wishart, that he was *always* a Whig. But what right has he to assume, that this has not also been *always* the case with me? I am happy in an opportunity of informing him, that it *always* has. (b)

(b) Mr. Sturch has *been always* "a Whig"—Good. If this means any thing, (for as to Whig principles, the phrase may fit any body, if he takes the convenient professions of the party at certain times) it means that Mr. STURCH has *been always* attached to the Whig party, and has acted with that party in contradistinction to others, whether Tories or Reformers of the more popular kind, from which even the Whig Reformers have certainly chosen to keep themselves apart, as may be seen by their letter to the Chairman of the "Society for Constitutional Information," of which Mr. STURCH was a member. If Mr. STURCH wishes to see the great gulph fixed between these Reformers and the Whigs, he may look into Lord Erekine's pamphlet, called a "Refutation of the Reply to his Defence of the Whigs." He will there see, that the Society for Constitutional Information was decried originally, and is now denounced by the Whigs; and that it is absolutely impossible for one and the same man to have been always a Whig and always a member of the above Reforming Society.

Now let us look for the political biography of Mr. STURCH. We are not quite certain that Mr. STURCH was not one of the original founders of the Society for Constitutional Information in 1780; but we are quite certain, that in 1783, the said Society issued "*Tracts published and distributed gratis.*"* We are quite certain, that in the table of contents of the volume they published, is, first, a list of the members of the Society at page iii, and that in due alphabetical order at page viii, we come to the name of WILLIAM STURCH.

The Society ceased for some years to meet; but we find them very active in 1792. Looking into Howell's State Trials, vol. xvi, article, "Trial of Hardy," we observe, that they held meetings on July 18, 20, 27; on September 28; October 5, 12, 26; on November 2, 9, 16; on December 7. Here, on all these occasions, we come to the name of Mr. STURCH.

It

* "*Tracts published and distributed gratis by the Society for Constitutional Information, with a design to convey to the minds of the People a knowledge of their Rights—principally those of Representation. Volume the first. London, printed by Wm. Richardson, No. 403, Strand. 1783.*"

Not, indeed, that I have ever been the blind adherent of a party, so as to advocate its measures whether right or wrong; but that ever since I have been capable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood, which I believe was some time before our worthy Representative was born, *I have gloried in those Whig principles which rescued our country from the tyranny of the Stuarts; which placed the present Royal Family on the throne of these kingdoms; which are laid down with such admirable perspicuity and force, by Locke, in his immortal Treatise on Government, and of which I have, more than once, heard a clear and eloquent statement, and unanswerable vindication, from the mouth of that illustrious patriot, Charles James Fox. 'A Whig,' said that great man, in my hearing, 'if I know any thing of Whig principles, is one, who, for the great purpose of securing the rights of the people, is anxious that they should possess their full weight in the government of the country by*

It is of little moment to observe upon the horror with which the Whigs now talk of the London Corresponding Society; it is of more moment to shew Mr. STURCH's sentiments on that head. It appears, then, that on the 13th of July, 1792, Messrs. HARDY, MARGAROT, RICHTER, and three other members of the *London Corresponding Society*, were unanimously elected members of the *Constitutional Society*—*present*, Mr. STURCH. It appears, that on the 5th of October, 1792, the Constitutional Society ordered the letter of the London Corresponding Society to be printed—*present*, Mr. STURCH. Moreover, it appears from the minutes of the Society, that on the 12th of October, it was “Resolved, that Mr. STURCH do draw up an answer to the letter of Mr. Joel Barlow, expressing how much pride this Society feel at having elected him an honorary member.” On the 19th Mr. STURCH produced this letter, which was adopted.

The minutes of the Society for December 7, contain an account of the reception of the deputies, Joel Barlow and John Frost, by the National Convention of France. The deputies tell the Convention, “It would not be strange, if in a period far short of what we would venture to predict, addresses of felicitation should cross the seas to a NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ENGLAND.” At drawing up this minute, *present*, Mr. STURCH.

It seems, then, that Mr. STURCH, besides being always a Whig, was always a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, *which is absurd*. Mr. STURCH reads Euclid—the deduction is a matter of form from premises before laid down—it is no insult—none is here intended.

a fair and free representation; and who, for the same great purpose, wishes to limit and define the prerogative of the Crown." These principles of Mr. Fox *always* have been, and, I trust, *always* will be mine; and upon these principles, if I mistake not, we elected the worthy Baronet in the year 1807. (c) *The new Creed of Mr. Place—Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and the Ballot, as an indispensable qualification for a Seat for Westminster, was not then known, and therefore I cannot have abandoned it.* (d)

(c) That is to say, Sir Francis Burdett was elected in 1807, as a Whig, as one of those Whigs which Mr. STURCH had always been; or, perhaps, as a Foxite Whig. This is a most outrageous falsification of what happened only a few years ago. Sir Francis lost his seat in Middlesex in 1806, for denouncing the Whig party; he was personally assaulted for calling Mr. Fox the best of patriots, which the Chronicle, during this very Election of 1819, calls insulting Mr. Fox when he was scarcely cold in his grave: and Mr. STURCH cannot possibly forget that it was for exposing the tricks and selfishness of "*BOTH the battalions of the well trained regiment*," of both Whigs and Tories, that Sir Francis was triumphantly elected by himself, and his associates the Westminster Reformers. But Mr. STURCH now says that he "has thought it right to support the worthy Baronet with all his mind and with all his strength during nearly twelve years." Did he do this always as a Whig? Strange, indeed, when the gentlemen in Parliament, who would call themselves also always Whigs, we presume, were opposing and calumniating Sir Francis at all convenient opportunities.

The name of Mr. STURCH will be found in almost every transaction during the above twelve years, as a decided Reformer—a Westminster Reformer; and he says a "supporter with all his mind and all his strength, of Sir Francis Burdett," which is just the sort of being that the Whigs, as a party, during those twelve years, have, for the most part, held in utter abomination.

(d) Whether Universal Suffrage, &c. is the *new creed* of Mr. Place, has nothing to do with the matter. Mr. Place's name is wantonly introduced, is invidiously introduced—the question is, whether it is the *old creed* of Mr. STURCH. Let us inquire. What says Mr. STURCH's "*SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION*;" that Society whose fraternization the Whigs rejected in their famous letter to Major Cartwright?

In their first declaration, page 2, they say—"the bulk of the nation destined to labour, not to study, &c. should enjoy, *undimi-*

It certainly was not then the creed of the worthy Baronet; nor does it appear to have been so when he brought forward his plan

nished, the constant exercise *unabridged* of its legislative or **ELECTIVE RIGHTS.**"

In page 7 of the above mentioned Tracts with the name, WILLIAM STURCH, amongst those who distributed them gratis, is a "Declaration of Rights," in which it is maintained that "ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS and UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE are RIGHTS." In page 16 the same declaration is repeated, but digested into four articles; and Note 2 says, "*any man who has no vote is a slave.*"

The declaration is followed by an address to the people, also distributed gratis to the people by, amongst others, WILLIAM STURCH. The Address says, "That Englishmen could ever have been so infuriated as to suffer either ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS or the UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE to be wrested from them, excites our astonishment." Then follows an epitome of the "People's Barrier," again repeating the same sentiments; and in this paper, page 3, are the words—"ELECTIONS ARE TO BE BY BALLOT." Then follows the Report of the Westminster Sub-Committee, declaring for "*Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and the Ballot,*" with a plan for taking the Suffrages of the People.

If any further proof be wanting that this *new* creed of Mr. Place's was the *old* creed of Mr. STURCH and of many of the Westminster Reformers, it may be found in the transactions of those Reformers. They have no secrets; and to shew how unsafe it was for Mr. STURCH to talk of this new creed—of this creed not known in 1807—though Mr. STURCH had distributed it gratis in 1783—they now remind Mr. STURCH, that in 1812, he was a supporter of Major Cartwright, the apostle of this *new* old creed; they remind him, that in 1818 he made one at a meeting of which the following is a minute.

MEETING held at Mr. Brooks's, June 1, 1818, on the expected Dissolution of Parliament.—Present,

Mr. STURCH in the Chair,

and nineteen other electors.

Resolved,—That a public meeting be held on Thursday, the 4th instant, to consider of two fit and proper persons to represent Westminster.

Resolved unanimously,—That Sir Francis Burdett be proposed.

Mr. Peter Walker proposed Major Cartwright—Mr. Place pro-

of Reform in the House of Commons in June, 1809. *If he has lately, with whatever view, adopted that creed, the change of*

posed Mr. Douglas Kinnaird—on the ground that they would support annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the election by ballot.

Some doubts were entertained whether Mr. Kinnaird would support the three propositions. The choice, then, was deferred till to-morrow.—Adjourned at 6 p. m.

June 2, 1818, 6 p. m.

Mr. STURCH in the Chair.

Received a letter from the Honorable D. Kinnaird, in which he declared himself friendly to the three propositions.

Resolved UNANIMOUSLY,

That the Honorable D. Kinnaird be proposed to the meeting on Thursday next, as a fit and proper person to represent the City and Liberty of Westminster in Parliament.

That Mr. Mill, Mr. STURCH, Mr. Place, and Mr. Adams be requested to draw up Resolutions for the General Meeting to be held on Thursday.

Adjourned to the Crown and Anchor Tavern at 10 a. m. Thursday, June 4.

Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, at the above hour,
4th June, 1809.

Mr. S. Brooks in the Chair.

Present, amongst others, Mr. STURCH.—Reported, that the Gentlemen appointed to prepare the business for the meeting, had prepared the said business.

It was then proposed, that Mr. STURCH should be called to the chair of the public meeting, and that, under his presidency, the Hon. D. Kinnaird should be proposed as a supporter of *Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Election by Ballot*—and Mr. STURCH accordingly went into the meeting and took the chair, with the *business sheet* drawn up for that purpose and to that effect in his hand.

Mr. Hunt's partisans broke up the meeting, and Mr. STURCH withdrew with great difficulty under Mr. Hobhouse's arm into a private room, where the former meeting of electors was resumed, and Mr. Kinnaird not having yet been proposed, some discussion again took place as to Major Cartwright. It was then that Mr.

opinion, or if he pleases, the dereliction of principle, is his, and not mine. (e)

Sturch, who had made one of the meeting unanimous for bringing forward Mr. Kinnaird, seemed not so decided about his choice; but did he object to the *new-old creed*? Oh no—he said, “that for his part, he had all along been unable to understand why Major Cartwright should not be the man.” Need Mr. STURCH be told, that Major Cartwright is the very Richmond of the day—the uncompromising assertor of the *new-old creed*—the ancient associate of Mr. STURCH’s *Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliamentary Society for Constitutional Information*? Mr. STURCH may have purged his memory of all that “perilous stuff;” but we have not drunk of the waters of oblivion with him.

(e) We refer to the last article for what Mr. Sturch’s *old creed* was. If his word goes for any thing in *his own favor*, after that exposure, we are much mistaken. If it goes for any thing *against Sir Francis Burdett*, we are more mistaken still. For curiosity’s sake, however, we have looked into Sir Francis Burdett’s first speech on Reform: it was in 1797. The perusal of that speech, made when Sir Francis was almost a boy, and just come into parliament, furnishes a proof scarcely to be expected of a very singular consistency of opinion in the outset of his career with his late and present conduct. Those who read it, will see that Sir Francis began his independent line distinct from Whig and Tory at the very beginning; they will see that Sir Francis Burdett made no declaration *against Universal Suffrage, &c.*, but said it was a subject for further inquiry.

Sir Francis Burdett, after having enumerated many of the abuses of the Government at home, asked, “What was the cause of the revolution in France?—the progress of reason and philosophy? Alas! reason and philosophy can boast of no such influence over the conduct of mankind. That revolution was caused by the extravagance, profligacy, and insolence of its administration.”

Sir Francis continued—“The same causes are operating with us; and highly as I esteem the talents of a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), even he could do nothing substantial for the benefit of the people, were he minister to-morrow, without an *entire change of system in our politics; nor even then, unless there is a full and free representation of the people.* I hope, therefore, the people will not be content with any change of men or measures, without a full, fair, and free representation. Perhaps I may be told, that monarchy itself cannot be supported without corruption. If that be so, then I for one aim a republican. Liberty can never flourish where there is corruption

"Perhaps, however, as the worthy Baronet introduces his criminal charge with regretting that their friends have fallen off, may mean to found it on *my not concurring with Mr. Place on the absurd attempt to force Mr. Hobhouse on the Electors as their Representative.* (f) But what dereliction of principle does this imply? Did I ever signify any approbation of this foolish attempt? Did I not, from the first, declare plainly, that I could not recommend an untried and unknown young man, to a situation, that ought to be filled by great and acknowledged talent, and established character? Did I not strongly urge, not only the impropriety of the

in the Government. Liberty is, in my mind, the most valuable jewel in human life. It is what I value more than life. Without it, life is of no value; and with it, poverty is preferable to wealth without. I prefer hard liberty to servile pomp. *I will therefore, while I live, use every means in my power to obtain for the people their just rights. I warn them not to be the dupes of corruption. It is not Ministers that I wish to oppose: it is corruption that I wish to destroy.* With respect to *universal suffrage*, that is a point which may be discussed hereafter. I need only add, that the present motion shall have my hearty concurrence.*

Sir Francis never, we believe, has made a declaration against universal suffrage, except as a foolish word: he has always been anxious to support every plan of Reform. His plan in 1809 was one of those plans—his plan in 1818 was another—he has *always* acted as Lord Grey once professed, that any reform, any change was better than the present system; but he has never said "give me this, or I'll take nothing." But Mr. STURCH and his Constitutional friends did say as much as this in their gratis declarations. Who then is to be believed—the man who calls that very *creed*, of which he was a supporter in 1783! a *new creed* of Mr. Place, "*not known in*" 1807, or he who always said that this *creed* was a question for debate? A *new creed*, indeed! Why even the blandering Lord Holland made the *creed* as *old* as Granville Sharp.

(f) We mean to be civil; but we must say, that Mr. STURCH acts a dishonest part in ascribing the resolution to bring forward Mr. Hobhouse for Westminster to Mr. Place. He knows the assertion to be utterly untrue; he knows Mr. Place had nothing to do with that nomination—had "no hand" (as Mr. STURCH says of himself) "in calling that meeting;" but we will not condescend to fight with the shadows of falsehood.

* Debate on Mr. Grey's motion for a Reform of Parliament, 26th May, 1797.
—*Vide Parliamentary History*, vol. xxxiii, p. 683.

thing; but the improbability of success; especially after the failure of a similar attempt in the person of Mr. Kinnaird? Did I not, at the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, in November, at which Sir F. Burdett presided, earnestly deprecate the precipitate adoption of any definitive resolution, and advise the delay of a few weeks, in the hope that some name might be brought forward, in the support of which all the real friends would have no hesitation to unite? And when the Chairman indignantly replied, that if Mr. Sturch's advice were to be followed, he had travelled a hundred miles to town on a fool's errand, *did I not declare it to be my opinion, that if this absurd project were persisted in, and any respectable Gentleman, whether Whig or Tory, should offer himself, John Hobhouse would not be elected.* (g) And after all this, am I to be charged with dereliction of principle, because I have not chosen to involve myself in disgrace and defeat, by giving active support to a Candidate, whose principles no man knows to this hour; and, which, from the obscurity which pervades the declaration, which he tells us he was tortured to make, it seems to be his intention that no man ever should know? I again say, I am accused, merely because I have *not supported*, and not because I have opposed this Candidate: for it should be known; and it will probably surprise many to hear, that the very 'head and front of my offending,' is no more than this—that I have given no vote at all at this Election; that I have solicited no vote; that I have not interfered, directly or indirectly, for or against either of the Candidates, from the beginning to the end of this contest. This is the extent of my political sin. And for this

(g) No, Mr. STURCH! you said no such thing—your declaration was quite different from this, and was quite contradicted by the fact as it afterwards occurred. You said, in the hearing of fifteen hundred persons, that "Mr. Hobhouse being an untried man, would operate on the electors out of doors; and that if Government brought forward any Tory, whether Sir Murray Maxwell or any other person, and Mr. Hobhouse were the candidate opposed to him, Government would triumph."

This was the substance of your declaration. You said not a word of a Whig candidate; you alluded solely to the success of the Court. But in spite of your excessive foresight, the Court candidate did not make John Hobhouse retreat; but John Hobhouse made the Court candidate retreat. What you said was so certain, did not come to pass: the very contrary came to pass. It is a little too hard for you to take credit for an antedated prophecy, when you should rather suffer exposure for a notorious mistake.

it is that our worthy Representative, whose cause in Westminster I have advocated with unremitting zeal for so many years, has thought fit to point me out as an object of dislike, as a *guilty* man, to a populace, inflamed almost to madness by the speeches of Mr. Hobhouse and himself; and ready to execute instant vengeance on any man, against whom they had taken offence. (*h*) The worthy Baronet, however, is not destitute of feeling: and I am sure some regret will be excited in his mind, when he is told, that it was only through a *fortunate mistake* of the wretched rabble, who attacked another house, supposing it to be mine, that my windows were not demolished, in common with those of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wishart, the Committee Room, the Morning Chronicle Office, and the Newcastle Coffee House! I cannot conclude without declaring, that it is still my belief, that the Honorable Baronet has the good of the People at heart, and expressing my sorrow that he is *in the hands of bad advisers*.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM STURCH.

A few days after the Election, a General Meeting of the Friends of Reform took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. After some previous business, they came to the Resolution of writing the following letter to Mr. Hobhouse:

(*h*) Since Mr. STURCH has shewn that he does not know what he said himself, it is not to be expected that he should know what was said by others. That Mr. STURCH should have made himself the parrot of the gross falsehoods of the Chronicle, and charged Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett with inflaming the populace to madness, Mr. STURCH will perhaps by this time have repented. We are truly happy that his penance is not made bitter by a glazier's bill, although we cannot agree with him in supposing that Sir Francis Burdett will feel proportionately happy that the "wretched rabble" by a "*fortunate mistake*," broke the windows, not of Mr. STURCH, but of another man. How the rabble should have made the mistake, is not quite so clear; the house, or rather houses of Mr. STURCH, are as well known as those of any man in all Westminster; the house to which Mr. STURCH alludes is on the opposite side of the way, and the windows broken were the tap-room windows of a small public-house; there could be here no mistake.

*" Crown and Anchor Tavern,
5th March, 1819.*

" Sir,

" We, the undersigned Electors of Westminster, and Friends of Reform, in behalf of ourselves and of the 3861 honest and independent men, who, notwithstanding the threats and cajoleries of the two factions and their hangers-on, boldly gave their votes for you, because you had declared yourself a friend of Radical Reform; and also in behalf of the great body of Electors unjustly disfranchised, beg leave to express the obligations we consider the people of Westminster are under to you, for your able and manly perseverance in opposing the arts of the coalesced factions.

" Although they sincerely regret that, by foul means, the object of your honest and honorable ambition has been snatched from you, they trust you will feel with them, that a great work has been effected by this contest; namely, the developement of the hollowness of the Whigs, and the complete exposure of the falsehood and malignity of those who attempted to destroy the well-earned fame of our tried and incorruptible Representative, Sir Francis Burdett, and we have no doubt, that on the next occasion, the Electors of Westminster will be enabled to place you in that situation, in which you may co-operate with him in the great and paramount cause of Parliamentary Reform.

" Impressed with these sentiments, we earnestly desire, for ourselves and our brother Electors, the gratification and honor of your company to Dinner, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Tuesday, the 16th instant, at five o'clock precisely.

" We have the honor to be,

" Sir,

" With the greatest respect,

" Yours, very sincerely,

" (Signed) L. MACLAURIN, Chairman.

(With a large sheet covered with signatures.)

" To John Cam Hobhouse, Esq."

Mr. HOBHOUSE returned the following Reply:—

" 43, Clarges Street.

" Sir,

" I have this instant received the letter of the large and respectable body of Electors who have done me the honor to invite me to dine with them on Tuesday next, and I beg you will inform them that I accept that invitation with much pleasure.

"The testimony to my public conduct included in this letter is, together with the consciousness of having done what I thought my duty, not only a sufficient reward for my former endeavours, but will prove an incitement to whatever exertions my slender capacity and future opportunities will permit me to employ in the great cause of public freedom. As to the past struggle, I can discover no just reason on my part for disappointment, and I trust there is far less reason for regret or dismay. The free voice of the Electors first induced me to become a candidate for an office, the duties of which their favourable opinion had determined I was qualified to perform. If they have seen no reason to think their confidence misplaced, I can for myself only declare, that a similar expression of their wishes on that future occasion to which their letter alludes, will be sufficient to point out to me the road of duty and of honor, and to induce me, without the least hesitation, to co-operate with the Electors, towards the attainment of our mutual aim, the return of one more Radical Reformer to Parliament.

"With unfeigned esteem, I am, Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE.

"*L. MacLaurin, Esq. Chairman, &c.*"

The Parochial Committees also transmitted to Mr. Hobhouse communications, highly approving of his conduct, and expressing their resolution of looking to that gentleman as the man of their choice on the first opportunity that might occur.

The letter from the St. James's Committee was couched in these terms, and was delivered to Mr. Hobhouse the day after the close of the Election.

"Committee Room, Brewer Street,

"March 3, 1818, evening.

"Sir,

"The Committee of St. James's, acting for the purpose of promoting your return as one of their Representatives in Parliament, cannot separate without offering their best thanks for your upright and manly conduct during the contest, and assuring you that nothing but (what they conceive to be) the illegal means adopted by the High Bailiff could have overcome the exertions made in your favor. They beg to assure you, that while you continue to be the advocate of a reform in parliament, and a friend to the cause of the people, you may

confidently rely on their exertions to promote your patriotic views on any future occasion that may present itself.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble Servant,

SAML. CLARK, Chairman.

"To John Cam Hobhouse, Esq."

The dinner at the Crown and Anchor Tavern was announced forthwith,* and the appearance of the invitation was the signal for another personal attack on Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse by the Whigs, who seemed angry, that whilst they were the objects of ridicule and condolence after their victory, the Reformers should presume to shew themselves in good spirits after their defeat. We insert the document, which was carefully given out as not proceeding from the editor of the Chronicle, but from an authentic and more important member of the party.

"The Rump, who administer Westminster in the name of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, must by this time be convinced, that it would have been wiser for them, not to have wantonly "elicited" a contest with the Whigs. To gratify their private spleen and malignity, they have sacrificed a seat in Parliament for one of their dependants, and have spread general distrust and disunion among the friends of Reform throughout the Kingdom. In the eyes of this miserable little junto, it was an unpardonable crime in the Whigs to have placed Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY higher on the poll than Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. We are far from attributing to Sir FRANCIS himself such illiberal feelings. Much as we differ from him in principle, and meanly as we think of his piancy and subserviency to his Rump Administration, we fully acquit him of any ungenerous regrets at the triumph of his great competitor. But the Rump that govern Westminster in his name, and the little Court of Dandies that wait upon his person, were inflamed with spite at the failure of their efforts, and looked forward with eagerness to an opportunity of giving vent to their malice. A safe occasion seemed to present itself. Mr. HOBHOUSE had been canvassing Westminster for three months without interruption—the Court Candidate had withdrawn

* "REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart. M. P. and JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE, Esq. having accepted an Invitation to dine with the ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, FRIENDS OF REFORM, on Tuesday next, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, the Dinner will be on the Table at five o'clock precisely.—Tickets (wine included) 15s. 6d. each, to be had of the Stewards, and at the Bar of the Tavern.—The doors of the Great Room will be opened at four o'clock."

—no other competitor appeared. The day of election was at hand, and the success of Mr. HOBHOUSE seemed inevitable. This was the moment chosen to insult a party that had mortified their pride, and refused to adopt the extravagance of their opinions. It was no alleviation of their hatred, that the Whigs had fought for them in the hour of danger, when Sir FRANCIS, their representative, was otherwise employed. It has been the constant practice of their sect, in adversity to cling to the Whigs, in prosperity to traduce them.

"It is true, as Mr. HOBHOUSE observed from the hustings, that it was the Report of his Committee, which provoked the late contest in Westminster; but it is not true, that it was the Report of his Committee *alone*. It was the sanction given to that Report by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, it was the approbation of it expressed by Mr. HOBHOUSE in his speech, which convinced the Whigs that they must either vindicate their character by a public appeal to their fellow-citizens, or submit to be trampled upon without resistance.* The event has justified their choice; and if 3,800 voters have given their suffrages to the *protégé* of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, it was no more than was to have been expected from the popularity of Sir FRANCIS's name, from his *personal* exertions during the contest, from the discipline of his troops, and their unscrupulous misrepresentations of their adversaries.

"With Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Mr. HOBHOUSE, OR THE FRAMERS OF HIS REPORT, the WHIGS can have no further political connection. It is not merely to the principles of these men they object, BUT TO THE MEN THEMSELVES. They can no longer act or associate with persons who cultivate their friendship in private, and traduce them in public. They would be unreasonable indeed, if they objected to the principles of Mr. HOBHOUSE, for no one knows what the principles of that gentleman are, or whether he has any principles at all. He calls himself a Radical Reformer, and under that vague and ambiguous expression, eludes all inquiry into his opinions. Is he for Universal Suffrage? No; he is *far short* of that. Is he for Annual Parliaments? He is too little of a coxcomb to say how long Parliaments should last. He is for an uniform Right of Suffrage, it is true; but till he has explained to us the extent of his qualification, it is impossible to judge of the merits of his plan.

"The Whigs are neither for Universal Suffrage nor for *Uniform Suffrage*. The fundamental principle of Whiggism, as applied to the Constitution of this country, is Government by Parliament. They

* How they vindicated their character the reader has seen, and will yet see. In their eyes one means of vindication was disfranchising the Electors of Westminster as far as they were able.

are in favour of Parliamentary Reform, because they consider the House of Commons, as at present constituted, an inadequate check on the Ministers of the Crown, and an imperfect representation of the different classes and interests of the community. Whatever Reforms they may propose or support, they will found them neither on natural rights with Major CARTWRIGHT, nor with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, on the Tory principle of emancipating the Crown from the House of Commons. They would render that assembly more independent of the Minister, but not abridge it of one particle of its power. They would give the unrepresented portions of the community a share in the Government, but have no desire to subvert the Constitution."

The true style of the modern gentleman is easily recognizable in this elegant document. The repeated recourse to Mr. Cobbett's dictionary for a term whereby to abuse the Westminster Tradesmen who have been the most active advocates for Reform—"the little Court of Dandies,"—a phrase all their own, and some gross falsities, give a genuine Whig stamp to the whole article. The "social proscription," Mr. Hobhouse had in his farewell speech proclaimed awaited him, but he could hardly imagine it would be publicly pronounced against him—the use of this "last argument of party" would of itself have been sufficient to denote the true authors of this edict. The reason given for this proscription is equally worthy of the Whig gentlemen. The writers wish it to be supposed they speak from a knowledge of facts, touching the private life of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse. Now, one should be a Whig gentleman, in order to reconcile oneself to alluding to the private life of any man, especially when one's knowledge must have been derived from a former intercourse with that man. The Westminster tradesmen never thought it worth while to inquire whose friendship Mr. Lamb cultivated in private. But it seems the gentlemen mean to say; that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were extremely ambitious of the honors and comforts of Whig friendships, and, indeed, an article, previously quoted, boasts of their having been *admitted into the circles* of their High Mightinesses. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that both these persons may have the extreme hardihood to think that in cementing these friendships, (if they did form any such), they brought as good as they got. The Whig writer would doubtless have it slightly hinted that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse made eager advances and solicitations for this high communion. Whether they did so, those who are personally acquainted with them, must decide; and also whether there is any thing particularly mean or forward in the carriage and conduct of either of them. This question

refers to their private life, and none but a Whig would have thought of agitating such a point. The writer would also perhaps suggest, that in this private intercourse the above persons entered into certain party engagements; but the writer can only hint this; for if he knew this, he would not have stuck at saying so outright. The world then will now clearly perceive, that which ought surely to be publicly proclaimed, namely, that association with a Whig gentleman is, if nothing is said to the contrary, a tacit submission to the Whig party—in other words, that these prudent persons never give their suppers and dinners, and balls, and conversation and countenance for nothing, but always as a set-off against the places and pensions and ribbons of the court: so that the simplest way of judging of a man's politics should be by looking at his card-rack.

The charge of traducing in public those whom Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse and the framers of the Report cultivated in private, is such as would never have entered into the head of any but a true party politician: for, as Sir Francis Burdett observed in his speech at the subsequent dinner, "the usual offence is to praise in public and to traduce in private"—an offence which it should seem is perfectly reconcileable to Whig honor. One would, however, think that Sir Francis, Mr. Hobhouse, and the framers of the Report, had made use of their private intimacy to expose individuals publicly. This is what the writer would wish to hint—and with what justice and pretext he does hint this, may be collected by referring to all the speeches of those two persons. Neither they nor the Committee traduced any individuals; and whether their attacks on party were traductions or truth, the country, and not the party must finally decide. The Whig writer states a falsity when he says, that Sir Francis Burdett gave a sanction to the Report of the Westminster Committee. He could give no such sanction, for he had never been consulted on the subject, and had never seen it when he was called to the chair, and he never alluded to it in any of his speeches that day. The Whig is equally false when he says that Mr. Hobhouse gave his approbation of that Report in his speech: the Committee had not consulted him any more than Sir Francis, and he said nothing about the Report.

The Whig puts an equally unfair gloss upon Mr. Hobhouse's declaration. The objection to his undefined principles is exactly the objection made to their idol Mr. Fox; and his declaration in fact is neither more nor less than the essence of the declaration made by the Whig Friends of the People in 1795.

The avowal that the Whigs are not for universal suffrage nor for *uniform suffrage*, is of importance, as it is a confession of a change of principles from those who, when calling themselves the Friends of the People, "*admitted the RIGHT of suffrage to be common*

and personal," and after stating how small a limitation to the exercise of suffrage they proposed, distinctly declared for *uniform suffrage and for a new division of the country*, which would give an equal number of constituents to each representative.* But these points have, we may safely assert, been completely set at rest in the pamphlets called "*A Reply to Lord Erskine*," and "*A Defence of the People*," and to them we refer the reader.

As the Whigs affected to believe that the positive merits and real popularity of their party had procured for them their majority over the Reformers, independently of the direct or indirect exertion of that influence which Government is enabled to exercise in Westminster, it has been thought advisable to compare the Poll Books of 1818 with those of 1819, in order to find out how many of those who voted for Sir Murray Maxwell in June voted for Mr. Lamb six months afterwards. The result of the investigation has gone to establish the decisive fact, that MR. LAMB OWES HIS MAJORITY TO THOSE OVER WHOM THE GOVERNMENT CAN EXERCISE A DIRECT INFLUENCE. This will be seen from the following numerical detail, extracted from the Poll Books of the two Elections,

LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVING VOTED FOR MAXWELL IN
1818, VOTED FOR LAMB IN 1819.

	Double Votes.	Plumpers.
Saint Margaret	280	168
— John	220	142
— George	754	530
— Martin	413	135
— James	595	255
— Clement and St. Mary	289	79
— Paul	91	11
— Anne	121	51
Total	2763	1071

* Two years before the celebrated declaration of the friends of the people was made, the Honorable Thomas Erskine (now Lord Erskine) then a great leader in the House of Commons, in his speech on Mr. Grey's Motion for Reform: said, the members of the House of Commons, "were either chosen by riot and confusion, and amidst bribery and corruption in the larger districts, or by the absolute authority of a few individuals in the smaller; that no private fortune, even if Elections were free, could bring up the Electors to the poll at a county contest, or the absent freemen in corporations, or stand the expense of the final issue in that House. The principle of the remedy therefore must present itself to every mind alike,

Now it is probable that the Whigs may not be inclined to admit that the *two thousand seven hundred and sixty-three*, who gave only one vote to Sir Murray Maxwell in 1818, were actually under Government influence, although it is a positive fact that, at the beginning of the Election in 1818, the canvassers for Maxwell solicited for Romilly, so much so indeed that, generally speaking, Sir Samuël cannot be thought to have had many *first votes* amongst those who polled for him and for Maxwell: But it would not be stretching a point to say, that by far the greater number of the above 2763 were government voters, and would have voted for any one countenanced by the Court; certainly they cannot be put down to the Whig force in Westminster, which, properly speaking, cannot be raised to a number greater than the voters for Lamb after the subtraction of the voters for Maxwell to be found in the late majority; that is to say, from the 4465 given to Lamb 2763 must be taken, before an estimate is made of the positive Whig force, which would appear in an election* where there should be three candidates for one vacancy—a Whig, a Tory, and a Reformer. This calculation reduces the said force to seventeen hundred and two voters, which we sincerely believe to be the utmost number the Whigs could muster if they were opposed by the Court and by the Reformers in a contest for a single seat.

But though the Whigs may quibble about the split votes which were given for Maxwell, it is impossible that they can dispute about the PLUMPERS. They must allow those who gave single votes for Maxwell against Romilly and against Burdett to be *dead* government voters. Of these government voters, then, ONE THOUSAND AND SEVENTY-ONE supported Mr. Lamb; and, if these government voters had not supported him, his numbers would have been reduced from 4465 to 3394; in other words, he would have been in a minority of *four hundred and sixty-seven* when compared with the *three thousand eight hundred and sixty-one* who voted for Mr. Hobhouse. This supposes that not one of the influenced voters would have polled for Mr. Hobhouse even if they had had their own way: but there is reason to believe that very many of them would have voted for him had they not been forced to do otherwise.

though different persons might differ in the details. *It could be no other than to simplify and EQUALIZE the franchise of Election, to make each body of Electors too large for individual corruption, and a period of choice too short for temptation, and by the subdivision of the places of Election, to bring the Electors together without confusion, and within every man's reach. Surely this was practicable.*—*Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXX. p. 834.

* The whole number of plumpers for Romilly was only 453.—Burdett, 2308.

Our investigation has led us to know that about one hundred of those who gave plumpers for Maxwell, voted for Hobhouse; and we account for this circumstance from the conviction that many of the influenced voters are in their hearts Radical Reformers; and that as during the first few days of the Election the Government did not commence active operations for Mr. Lamb, there was opportunity for the above small number to declare for the Reformer. We mention the fact that the Whigs may, if they please, set off these 100 votes against the above statement of their obligation to the Court.

We fancy, however, that we shall hear no more of the triumph of the Whigs in Westminster; and, indeed, considering how chop-fallen these poor gentlemen are, not only in the metropolis, but in the whole country, we should hardly have furnished the public with the above document, had it not been to prevent the assumption of a fallacy at some future period when there may be occasion for another struggle. The above exposure must convince the Reformers that they are in fact the strongest party in Westminster; and that by resolutely never giving a second vote to either Tory or Whig, they will always appear the strongest party in Westminster. Had none of them given a second vote to the candidate put up by the Whigs in 1818, there would have been no mistake about the matter. Sir Francis Burdett would have been far at the head of the poll, and the contest would have been, where it ought to be, between the two factions. But the personal character of Sir Samuel Romilly very naturally prevailed over those who did not see the treacherous use which would be afterwards made of their votes by the Whigs, who now actually assert that Romilly's second votes brought in Burdett, although it is notoriously true that Burdett's second votes, added to those which the Court in the early days of the poll lent to Sir Samuel Romilly, brought him in. The conduct of the Whigs against the Reformers on the late occasion will, we trust, prevent the possibility of such a mistake as that of splitting votes with a Whig being again made. The great body of independent voters must see that they never can give a vote to a Whig without giving a vote against themselves, and without giving a vote for that party who, as on the late occasion, will join the Court against the Reformers whenever there is the slightest appearance of profit from such a coalition. There is only one method of obviating any chance of their helping in a *third man* (as he is called in electioneering slang) out of preference to some more obnoxious candidate—namely, always to start with two Radical Reformers, let them be who they may, but certainly not with more than two, as was the case in 1818. Had not Major Cartwright's friends unadvisedly disturbed the unanimity of the Reformers in 1818, it is probable that all the Radical

Reformers who voted for Sir Francis Burdett would have voted for the other Radical Reformer, instead of giving their second votes; some to the Court candidate and some to the Whig candidate. In that case, two Radical Reformers would have been carried; and it is our opinion that two Radical Reformers may at any time be carried; nor can this opinion want any confirmation, when it is known that Mr. Hobhouse would have been returned against both Whig and Tory united, but for the disfranchisement of the poorer voters by the unjust decision of the High Bailiff—an injustice which, it is hoped, will, for the future, be successfully resisted.

WESTMINSTER MEETING, MARCH 16, 1819.*

THE Electors of Westminster met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to commemorate their efforts to return Mr. Hobhouse at the late Election. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse attended, according to invitation. Upwards of 400 persons sat down to a dinner which was plentifully and regularly served.

The Chairman, Mr. T. T. CLARKE, after the cloth was removed, said, that they had done him the honour, the highest honour which a citizen could receive from them, to call him to the chair on the present occasion; it became his duty, therefore, to say a few words on the object of their meeting. They were convened to return thanks, sincere thanks, to Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, for their exertions on behalf of liberty generally, but more especially during the late contest in Westminster.—(*Applause.*) To be the organ of such a sentiment would be gratifying to any one; it was particularly so to him, as he had in the outset been opposed to the pretensions of Mr. Hobhouse. Would they allow him to say, as an honest man, that if Westminster had thought fit to lay the Representation at the feet of Major Cartwright, as a grateful and efficient testimony of their sentiments upon Reform, and his services therein, Mr. Hobhouse would have been much more honoured than he is at present. Westminster, however, thought otherwise, and it became him to bow, as he did, implicitly to their determination.—(*Applause.*) If, however, the claim of that good and venerable personage could be superseded with propriety by any one, it was by their late candidate. He had

* From the Constitution of Sunday, March 21.

observed his conduct during the late contest, and it was so mild and judicious, so temperate, effective, discreet, and altogether praiseworthy, that it left him at a loss which he would admire most—the excellence of his understanding, or the integrity of his heart.—(*Applause.*) He was called into the field by unanimous requisition; he came forward and drove the enemy from the ground; he displayed the utmost gallantry under the operation of the two batteries which were opened upon him, and never quitted his station until he had effectually silenced both.—(*Applause.*) Such had been his (Mr. Hobhouse's) behaviour, that if such an occasion should again occur, he (Mr. Clarke) felt himself bound to exert himself to the utmost of his limited ability in favour of Mr. Hobhouse.—(*Applause.*)—He would not attempt any eulogy of Sir Francis Burdett; he was above praise; he (Mr. Clarke) felt it useless to utter a word on the subject. (*Applause.*) If, however, the Baronet had, from his long and powerful efforts in favour of the people's rights, stood high in their estimation, his conduct on the late Election must raise him still higher.—(*Applause.*)—Calumny had not spared Sir Francis Burdett on this last occasion; it had done its worst in traducing him; and as it always happens, when calumny is fairly met and answered, it had recoiled on the heads of the calumniators.—(*Applause.*)—And such was its ultimate effect, that in future it would not shake one atom of that confidence which existed among them towards that excellent person.—(*Applause.*)—Thus much for the immediate object of their Meeting: he would venture an observation or two on other points connected with the subject. He would speak to them as an honest man, in perfect sincerity and candour; he hoped that they would excuse him for reminding them of the sentiment of a great writer, who had remarked, that the want of moderation in supporting a cause, was sometimes as pernicious as the most dangerous hostility. He owned to a participation of this opinion—would they suffer him to express a hope that in future, Reformers, however radical and zealous they may be, would bear themselves with more moderation to those who may differ from them, either in extent of Suffrage, or any other question relating to Reform. As to the question of Radical Reform, whatever might be said about it, he (Mr. Clarke) declared in favour of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage. He would not assert that this was the only useful plan of Reform, he would not pretend that it was the most practicable and safe for immediate adoption, but he did feel that it was the most just plan which had yet been exhibited.—(*Applause.*)—He objected to placing disqualifications on people, merely because they wanted property: the right of suffrage was the most simple and obvious right, and ought to be inherent in every individual member of a

state calling itself free. He believed, that if men would adopt that great moral maxim—"Do unto others as you would be done unto,"—they would become, in heart at least, Radical Reformers. He avowed that when some Athanasius of Reform pronounced such or such a plan as the indispensable and only salutary course; when he denounced those who might differ from him as guilty of political heresy or treason, he (Mr. Clarke) could hardly keep his countenance; he was at a loss, in such a case, which to wonder at most, the extravagant humbug (to use a common phrase), or the ludicrous folly of the proposer. In the feelings of an honest man, he would take that opportunity of saying something in favour of the Whigs: if it had no other effect it would prove to that body, that though the Electors of Westminster had lost their cause, they had not lost their humour. Might he go so far as to say, that the name of Whig ought always to be dear to them? When he said so, he owned that the party called Whigs were enamoured of themselves and their title to dotiness. He did not mean to praise the Whigs, because they were friends, as it was commonly said, to toleration—a word which ought not to be found in any European dictionary; but because Whigs had been the main real friends of freedom. On certain great questions the Whigs were at issue with them; they did not think Reform so important, as the people of Westminster, who deemed it alone important; he believed they would willingly adjourn it *sine die*; they seemed to say, 'Place us on the Treasury Benches, and all will go well.' That was not the case with them. He had heard of patriot kings; and their Alfred was, perhaps, a model of that kind; King William, also, might have been a patriotic Monarch; they were informed also by certain forms, that every king was righteous; it may be so, and there may be righteous kings, but these were unusual instances, *rara avis*. Whigs also might be very patriotic, but we are not therefore prepared to surrender our rights to them, or to the servants of the crown, however respectable they may be. The people ought to retain some little matter of liberty among them; they had a right to it, and what is more, they will have it. If they could not have it peaceably, yet, let it be known, they were determined to procure a fair and free Representation in the House of Commons.—(*Applause*.)—He thanked them for their attention to him; he had expressed his honest opinions with that freedom which he was anxious to allow to every other person.—(*Applause*.)—He would give them as a toast—

" 'The Source of Legitimate Power—the People.'

" Tune.—*Britons strike home.*

" 'The Prince Regent, and may he remember his own de-

claration, that the Crown is held in trust for the benefit of the People!

" Tune.—*Hope told a flattering Tale.*

" Song.—*The Minstrel Boy*, by Mr. Mears.

" The CHAIRMAN observed, that he had spoken with frankness in favour of the Whigs; when he applauded them, however, it was not because they were Borough-mongers. He would now give them,—

" ' May the exposure of the Borough-mongers not be confined to Penryn; and may the Puritans of Parliament be taught to abhor guilt more than detection!'

" Tune.—*Kick the Rogues out.*

" The CHAIRMAN then observed, that he had already declared that he did not aspire to eulogize their excellent Representative; he would, without comment, give them—

" ' Sir Francis Burdett, and thanks to him for the powerful assistance given to his brother Electors in their recent endeavour to return to Parliament another man of their choice.'

" Tune.—*Whilst happy in my native Land.*

" Sir FRANCIS BURDETT rose amidst prolonged cheers and waving handkerchiefs. After the applauses had subsided, he observed, that it was always matter of great satisfaction to him to meet the enlightened Electors of Westminster; and never, even on occasions of triumph, had he met them with more pleasure than at present. His services, such as they were, were always at their command.—(*Applauses.*) They had always given him a generous credit for his intentions, and left his judgment unshackled with conditions. Hence he had been enabled to act in seeming opposition to their wishes on some occasions, and from that calumny had inferred that his favour with them was less than it was formerly. He had not found it so, however, in the late contest, notwithstanding circumstances the most extraordinary, arising from a confederacy the most monstrous, a coalition the most appalling and dangerous, had assailed them. The united malice of all their enemies had not been able to prevent any of those exertions which he considered as sure pledges of success on some future occasion, when such unnatural causes as they then had to oppose would not exist.—(*Applause.*) Mr. Clarke was an honest, independent man, who had acted nobly on many public occasions, he confidently expected that he (Mr. C.) would be looked to at some future time by the enlightened Electors of Middlesex.—(*Applause.*) It was to be hoped that two Reformers

would be returned for the county of the metropolis; then, when Surrey, Westminster, London, and Middlesex, should be represented by Reformers, there might be a reasonable hope of a speedy triumph. Mr. Clarke, like a fair, candid, honest man, not keeping his sentiments in reservation, had said something in favour of the Whigs, and in disapproval of the conduct of the Reformers towards them. He was like Goldsmith's Village Clergyman; with him the victors found a defence,

" 'For e'en his failings lean to virtue's side.'

The Whigs, however, had not behaved well latterly; and, besides, he thought it high time to get rid of such ridiculous distinctions as those of Whig and Tory. He hoped that the question would be entirely changed, and instead of the two former, the titles would be adopted of Reformer and no Reformer.—(*Applause.*) To show the inconvenience arising to public freedom, from those stale and unprofitable denominations of Whig and Tory, he would refer their attention to a letter of Mr. Sturch's, which had lately appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, wherein he asserts, that he had always been a Whig; he (Sir Francis) had however always been a Reformer. He himself might perhaps be a Whig, without knowing it; indeed he must be, if this were the case, as Mr. Sturch had uniformly acted with the Reformers.—(*Laughter and Applause.*)—Mr. Sturch had charged him with denouncing him on the hustings; the fact was simply thus: while complaining of the defection of many efficient Reformers, the name of Mr. Wishart had been mentioned; when he found it necessary to observe, that though Mr. Wishart had acted on many occasions with the Reformers, he had always declared himself to be a Whig. Mr. Sturch's name was then pronounced in the same way, and he took occasion to remark, that Mr. Sturch's was a real and melancholy dereliction of principle; he had no idea at the time that Mr. Sturch ever professed himself to be a Whig. He wished the term was done away with; it kept up delusion, and prevented many honest men from declaring in favour of Reform. Mr. Clarke could not approve of a plan of Reform which would exclude all but persons of property; that would certainly be bad enough, but a far better method than a Representation where the majority was selected by a hundred and fifty borough proprietors. He could not conceive any scheme having so little sympathy with the people. Mr. Clarke had said, that the Whigs were only anxious to sit on the Treasury Benches; if this was the *liberality* which he felt for the party, it differed nothing from the utmost of his own *liberality*; there was only a trifling variance of expression, as there

would be between accusing a man of taking your goods without offering recompence, and directly calling him a thief.—(Loud applause.)—He agreed with Mr. Clarke that the Whigs wish earnestly to sit on the Treasury Benches; but it is impossible to yield them honest support as a party, though some may be well inclined among them; when merged in the mass they were lost and useless to the interests of the people.—(Applause.)—A paragraph had appeared in the *Chronicle*, which, during the Election, had been styled the lying *Chronicle*, from which it appeared that he was denounced and exiled from all Whig society—from all Whiggeries—from the whole state of Whigdom.—(Laughter and applause.)—This, to be sure, was very hard; but nothing worse than he had already suffered; he was therefore prepared for something more disastrous even than that.—(Applause and Laughter.)—The devil had been called the father of lies; but in perusing the daily reports of transactions at the hustings during the contest, he really felt some apprehension that the devil would forfeit his long established title.—(Loud laughter and applause.)—He had been represented by this Whig oracle as an object of antipathy personally to the Whigs. He had always imagined that his principles were the only reasonable objects of political animosity against himself. He had been charged by the Whigs with practising dissimulation, because he had reprobated them in public, while in private he treated them with good breeding and social politeness; if, on the contrary, he had praised them publicly, and scandalized them in private, he imagined that they would have a much more powerful and disgraceful cause of complaint against him. It was a singular charge to bring against a man's public virtue, to say, that in his private manners he demeaned himself as a Gentleman.—(Applause.)—After that he should be tempted to alter the title of "lying *Chronicle*" to that of "the foolish." He perfectly concurred with their chairman in his feelings towards those Athanasian Reformers, out of whose pale damnation was prescribed without qualification or mercy. He would go on as he had done, whatever obloquy might attend him; and after the experience of nearly a quarter of a century, he would not think it a great risk to trust to the enlightened judgment of his constituents.—(Applause.)—We hear at all times of the levity and worthlessness of public estimation; but except in an *assembly* that affects to despise that which it cannot readily come at, the esteem of the public would always be an enviable mark of respect. In spite of the discourse used on this occasion, wherein common place history and poetical maxims are so plentifully quoted, he thought that large public bodies were less liable to mistake, in their judgment of public character, than individuals.—(Applause.)—Nothing can condemn public opinion but arrogance

and disappointment. Be it, however, what it will, and as base as they describe it, nothing can be done without it; *nothing could serve instead of it*; to despise it, is a proof of great folly. At the same time he knew that there was another basis for a man's conscientious ambition; but without public esteem no man's mind, however pure, no man's efforts, however strenuous, could succeed in a country where corruption holds such domination. The late contest, as had been said by their chairman, had brought forward their late candidate's character in a way which would entitle him to their future support.—(*Loud and continued Applause.*)—The late contest had done more to inform and unite the friends of free government and Reform than any thing else which could have taken place.—(*Applause.*)—It had been said that the contest might have been avoided, and that the report, a mere statement of truths, had prevented their success; he did not think so. It was remarkable that the Whigs, who so freely aspersed others, were so sore, when their own sins were put before their own eyes.—(*Applause.*)—He believed the contest commenced much earlier between Reformers and non-Reformers; he fancied it began first of all at the Newcastle Whiggery. Lord Grey there began to misrepresent and malign the Reformers, respecting their professions, which, according to their Whig doctrines, would produce confusion and uproar. They never offered a shadow of an argument to prove it; they only called the views of the Reformers *wild and visionary*; but with them every thing was wild and visionary that did not fall within the precincts of Whiggism.—(*Applause.*)—One man, however, a person of most extraordinary mental powers (Mr. Bentham), had proved beyond contradiction, that no confusion would proceed even from the widest plan of Reform. Mr. Bentham does not attempt to show by this, which is the worst and most practicable plan of Reform; he only proves that no danger could arise from those principles, the dread of which makes some men almost mad. He thought with Mr. Clarke that God had not created Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, as the only means for preserving public freedom. There were many other measures, and the best for adoption was that which would command most support.—(*Applause.*)—*What was Radical Reform? Why any Reform, that would root out the corruption of the House of Commons.* It may be accomplished either by the votes of every freeholder, or of every tax-payer; nay, if none but persons of 100*l.* annual income were allowed votes, even that would effectually prevent corruption. The right of suffrage is not, as some suppose, like an estate; he whose interests can be preserved without exercising it, is, in fact, the best off—he has least trouble. He thought he could point out twenty ways or means by which placemen and peers could

be prevented from influencing Elections; if they could do that, it was all that is wanted.—(*Applause.*)—To come now to a little Whig argument (whatever he might think of Whig character, he had much less respect for Whig argument.) Lord Grey says, 'it would be dangerous to trust the people with the right of Suffrage.' Now if a man could be trusted out of Bedlam, if any thing at all can be trusted to him, it is the privilege of saying which of his neighbours he likes best, or can best trust or confide in. Lord Grey, who is considered as a very great Statesman, says that to make up for the want of Suffrage, public meetings should be constantly convened to petition or remonstrate. The nature of good government goes to prevent the necessity of such Meetings; if the people could trust the government, they would have no need of petitions. There is in fact no necessity for keeping the people in that irksome and hopeless practice. If he was called on to name a plan for keeping a country in hot water, he would chuse this one, of keeping the people in a perpetual jealousy, and continually on the *qui vive* with the government. He would go farther than Mr. Clarke in his candour; Mr. Clarke had owned his respect for the Whigs; he himself would extend this feeling to the Tories also.—(*Applause.*) But if, instead of voting money out of their own pockets, members were engaged in voting thousands of the public money into them, it mattered little who formed the Administration.—(*Applause.*) The House does not represent the people, and while their lives and property are at the arbitrary disposal of 150 Borough proprietors, it is quite ridiculous for any party to boast of its energies, or affect that their measures alone can cure the oppressive evils of the state. Persons may risk their necks in opposing the system, but they knew that the sword of the military as well as the sword of the law were held over them.—(*Applause.*) They may complain too, but they must do it according to a dictated form, and in particular terms, or their complaint would only produce fresh punishment. This is the grievance to be got rid of. While the House of Commons remains as it is, the good that any ministry can do is less than problematical. He hoped, however, that a call would be made from every corner of the kingdom for a change.—(*Applause.*) As to Mr. Clarke's mention of toleration, he hoped and trusted that such intolerable toleration would be effectually got rid of in the nineteenth century. He hoped that this hypocritical cant of the church of England, used only as a means for monopolizing the benefits of the state, would be done away. The prospect in this respect was gratifying; in Ireland there was a rising spirit of liberality; the Protestants had met and petitioned for the liberties of the Catholics, those rights to which all were entitled equally.—(*Much applause.*) He trusted that persons

of all religions would see that there was only one religion in politics, that is—to be free: that it cannot be secured but by securing each man's rights unalienably, and more especially the right of being truly represented.—(*Applause.*) He hoped they would all remember, that their oppressions, however various or particular they may be, however bitter they may taste to each man's palate, all spring from one and the same bitter source—the want of that Reform in Parliament which the Whigs think a matter of small importance, but which he affirmed to be the only just ground for supporting public men, and the only antidote for the oppressions under which we groan.—(*Applause.*) He was so little hostile to the Whigs, that he only wished them to present some claim for public confidence; he was only anxious to fight under the Whig banners, provided the liberties of the country were inscribed upon them.—(*Applause.*) Although Reform could not then boast of many supporters, whose station of life was exalted, yet his persuasion was, that it would work upwards as men shall become convinced, and that all who are not SELF SEEKERS will soon assume their natural positions in this great question. The landed population, what have they become, but mere collectors of rents for other people's expenditure; like young spend-thrifts, who merely gathered their income to give it up to attorneys and usurers?—(*Applause.*) The commercial world, for all the vapouring about freedom of trade, which existed no more than any other freedom, must soon feel how degradingly they are goaded by a rapacious system of Excise. So that very soon all, except the mere monied interest, would be convinced how necessary it is to have a House of Commons chosen by themselves. Many who now think themselves unconnected with Reform, may be wrought upon by the exertions of Westminster, and become fully aware of its necessity. He confidently trusted that on a future occasion, though their Whig opponent should, as he had done on the last occasion, profess himself a Reformer, they would not elect either Whig or Tory; but would find the necessity of returning a real and Radical Reformer.—(*He sat down amidst prolonged peals of applause.*)

“Tune.—*Whilst happy in my Native Land.*

“Mr. RICHTER claimed a moment's attention. He replied to an insinuation of Mr. Lambton's, pronounced on the hustings, respecting the Concentric Society of Liverpool, and read to the meeting a resolution, and a letter to Sir Francis Burdett just received from that society, expressive of their highest esteem and gratitude.

The letter was as follows:—

" TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART., M. P.

" Sir,—When, in 1813, the Concentric Society of Liverpool solicited the honour to enrol your name among its members, it was from a conviction that you were the spirited and constitutional assertor of the people's right to elect their own representatives in the Commons' House of Parliament, and since that period, a strict attention to your public conduct has heightened, in no common degree, our admiration of those principles which gained you our esteem.

" Composed as our society is of persons embracing different opinions as to the duration of parliaments, and the extension of the elective franchise, we are unanimous in our high appreciation of your uniform and powerful exertions in support of the great cause of Parliamentary Reform:—a cause upon which additional lustre has been shed by the unimpeachable character, as well as by the splendid talents, which distinguish its independent and undaunted champion.

" Assailed by the timid, the mistaken, the interested, and the hypocritical, of different and opposing parties, the answer you have given has been a dignified and consistent conduct, which has endeared you to the Concentrics of Liverpool, more than could any vindication from the pen of controversy.

" Deeply lamenting the unhappy divisions among our friends in Westminster—convinced that our opponents use every means in their power to increase and perpetuate them—aware of the insidious and the turbulent attempts to lessen the people's confidence, in a man who can appeal to a public life of five-and-twenty years, and fearlessly defy any, even the most scrutinizing of his countrymen, to convict him of one deviation from public rectitude,—as friends of liberty, we rally round you, its long tried and firmest supporter; assuring you that, as we look back upon the past with the warmest gratitude, so we look forward to the future with undiminished confidence.

" Signed on behalf, and at the request of the meeting,

" ROBERT TAYLOR, M. D.

" President.

" *Liverpool, March 12, 1819.*"

" The next toast was,—

" 'The Liverpool Concentric Society, and thanks for the warm interest which they take in the affairs of Westminster, and their conduct to Sir Francis Burdett.'

" The next toast was,—

“ ‘ John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. whose zeal and perseverance in the late contest, and his declaration in favour of Radical Reform, have insured him the support of 3,861 Independent Electors.’

“ It was received with long continued peals of approbation, which lasted some minutes.

“ Mr. HOBHOUSE.—We might have been expected, perhaps, to have met under other circumstances, but it is always gratifying to me to meet the Electors of Westminster, under any circumstances, and those who are not sorry to see each other after a defeat, must be bound together, at least, by honorable ties. We can have no regrets—our purpose was honest, was a truly national object—we can have no mutual recriminations, the means which we pursued to obtain that purpose were such as all good citizens must be proud to acknowledge. Our recollections cannot be any other than agreeable—we had, during our long struggle, none but the purest of all motives to animate us—we had the approbation of our consciences—we had the prayers and the good wishes of the great mass of our fellow-countrymen, and those applauses which would have rendered our victory more precious, are a sufficient consolation for want of success. It was, perhaps, too much to hope, that those who had neither terror nor chicanery in their pay, who had no temptation beyond the persuasion to honesty to employ, should be a match for all those who applied themselves to all the bad passions, and who had at their command all the engines of corruption. But it was not too much to hope that a great national benefit should be conferred upon their fellow-countrymen by the Electors of Westminster, let what would be the event of the contest; and, I am sure, that no one has been disappointed in this hope. The country has long looked up to Westminster; and has been accustomed to see in its example, a living lesson for the instruction of all disinterested patriots. This was the case long before Westminster had been successful in her struggle for independence; and, doubtless, as much was taught by the effort made in favour of Mr. Tooke, (although that gentleman was not returned to parliament,) as could be taught by the successful endeavours of any other body of electors whatsoever. For, you, Gentlemen, proceeded upon principle, and, as it were, embodied an opinion that had long been gaining ground in England, namely, the conviction of *the real inefficiency of all party combinations*. The party which had been popular by opposing the American war, no sooner got into place, than (to use the words of Bishop Watson) ‘ *they lost the king’s confidence, lost the people’s confidence, and lost their power for ever.*’ The same discerning bishop saw, that ‘ *there was*

neither Whiggism nor Toryism left; excess of riches and excess of taxes, combined with excess of luxury, had introduced universal selfishness.' What was felt by the bishop, was felt by the nation; nor could the splendid abilities of Mr. Fox, and those extraordinary men that acted with him, nor their patriotic services in opposing the French war, recover the confidence of the people of England. Mr. Fox himself felt that the Whig party did not exist; for, in his letter to Lord Holland, he talks of *re-establishing it*.^{*} Whatever were his wishes, nothing certainly could have been more contrary to such an object than his coalition with Lord Grenville and Lord Sidmouth. This did, indeed, give '*the death-blow to the miserable distinctions of Whig and Tory*.' This was the signal for the resurrection of the people, whose rights had been undermined and frittered away during the contentions of these rival parties. This was the consummation which was to crown the efforts of Westminster. This was the true epoch for the appearance of that much-desired and long-expected character, the real disinterested patriot, not the seeker of place—not the lover of power—not the adorer, nor the vilifier, of princes, but that which in a representative government, strange as it might appear, had been hitherto wanting, A TRUE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE, without an end, an aim, or an ambition, independent of that noble and useful character. It was indeed the pride of Westminster, and the glory of England, to have found such a man; but had the Electors of Westminster not found him, their conduct would have made him: such constituents would not have been long without a suitable representative. I need not recal to you the long and happy connexion which has subsisted between you and your representative, nor the triumph which your principles obtained by the return of two reformers to parliament. The eminence on which you stood was too high not to attract envy. You know that, for several years, those who had formerly domineered in Westminster have been employing the usual weapons of party to disturb your tranquillity. Having lost the representation, their next care was to *degrade* it; an attack on the Westminster Reformers was always acceptable to these politicians, but more especially to the Whigs. Degraded as they thought it was, they still thought it worth a manœuvre to obtain a seat, and took advantage of a division amongst the Reformers, to put forth a man of high character as their own. For this, Gentlemen, is an ancient trick of the Whigs—they appropriate for the party every thing that is good amongst them; but never think themselves answerable for any of

^{*} In the article Universal Suffrage, in Edinburgh Review for January 1819, it is owned that the Whig party was broken up by the Burkites.

the discreditable acts of their party. They called the return of Sir Samuel Romilly the triumph of the Whigs, though that gentleman divided more than 2,000 votes with each candidate. Their exultations at that event, and at a few successful returns elsewhere, were unbounded; they condescended to feel some *corresponding kindness for the people*, and to tell them so, in terms which would have suited a Russian Ukase, pronouncing the manumission of a whole region of slaves. It is easy, then, to conceive the horror and dejection with which they viewed the approaching probability of Westminster being again totally freed from their shackles. They were reduced to a dilemma, which their pride could not brook—either they were to acquiesce in a choice not made by themselves, or they were openly to object, and confess their impotence. There was, indeed, another plan, and that was to allow of the election of the man chosen by you, and then to say that it had been the work of their own hands. This, indeed, we knew, as it was afterwards proved by what we heard on the hustings, and from the Whig organ. This would have been said, notwithstanding the former complaint that my nomination was wholly managed by those not connected with the Whigs—so inconsistent is cunning. Such an after-pretence would have been a compromise of the freedom of Westminster, and of the individual chosen by you. It was necessary to prevent the possibility of such an assertion, by openly laying down the principle on which we proceeded. It was necessary that the General Committee should declare itself still true to that cause from which others had apostatised. It was necessary that I should declare myself convinced, as I was convinced, that a true Reformer *cannot* be a party man, and that a member for Westminster ought not to be a party man. The hatred begotten by truth, was the fruit of this sincerity—you know the consequence. The Whigs have kindly given you another proof that this monstrous invention of party, that *this Fourth Estate* was contrived for the corruption of all political honour and honesty; and that individuals, however good in themselves, no sooner join the party, than they rush headlong into the commission of every infamy, and hide their very selfishness, under the pretext that what they do, is not done for one, but for many. If there ever was a transaction attended with peculiar circumstances of depravity, it was the conduct of these pretenders to patriotism in the last election; and whatever may have been the former opinion of any man respecting the Whigs, this election has developed their characters beyond all possibility of further delusion. It is idle to talk of former opinions about those who seem to become worse and worse, as occasion allows them the opportunity. The tricks, the falsehoods, the fraud, the force resorted to by these

Noble Persons—their open and eager coalition with those whom they have so long stigmatized as the enemies of the people—all are too fresh in our recollection. Their base and mean manner of charging you, Gentlemen, with the employment of those very arts which were resorted to solely by themselves, will never be obliterated from the memory of Englishmen. If I said before the election, that the country *was sick of Party*, what terms will now suffice to show the detestation in which that madness is held—not only in the metropolis, where Whig is a by-word of reproach, but in the provinces, where the press has pronounced upon the last election? The country *is sick of party*—it never will return to its vomit. It is all in vain talking of their Whig principles. Where are they? Who acts upon them? I shall say of them, as a Noble Lord said of the English Constitution, in those days, when the Whigs used to laugh at the *word* Constitution as much as we do now,—

‘ Thus *Harlequin* extolled his horse,
Good for the field, the road, the course.
One fault he had, one fault, indeed,
And what was that?—the horse was dead.’

The Whig horse is dead—and dead indeed. Nobody cares twopence for his pedigree—the matches he has won are forgotten or doubtful. Lately, indeed, they put him to a sorry purpose, and actually killed him by trying to make him carry double—but Whig and Tory at once would have broken down a high-mettled charger—no wonder it was too much for a *wretched worn-out hack*.—And yet I dare say we shall hear of the animal again—but it will not do. They may Galvanize the malefactor who has been hanged and cut down—he may seem alive—a grin or distortion—a kick of the leg may frighten or amuse the by-standers, but he is dead—and dead for ever. No, Gentlemen, the Whigs of England—the old Whigs have been respectable, but they are now, like the ancient Catos, *vain* names and nothing else. Well said Dr. Bentley, that no man was ever written down but by himself. We have been accused of bringing public men into contempt, but no man was ever brought into contempt but by himself. These proud men are angry merely because when they demand future confidence we remind them of past misdeeds. They are angry because we tell them not always to boast of what was half done by their ancestors some one hundred and forty years ago, and remind them, that if they will always be looking backwards themselves (when they do not allow us to look backwards) they will never look forward, and be sure to stumble over the first obstacle in their way. These proud men are

angry with us, who think Reform every thing, because we remonstrate with those who were once of the same opinion as ourselves, but now think Reform almost nothing, and good only for a placard at an election. They are now absolutely angry with us with tracing back the word *Radical* Reform to themselves, and pretend not to know what the word means. They are not the most learned of mankind; but, I dare say, they have read Foote's farces—they may be instructed of the meaning of this hard word by Dr. Last. 'What do you do,' says the doctor to him, 'to cure a tooth-ache?' '*I pull him out by the roots,*' says Dr. Last. 'Good,' answer the doctors, '*a radical cure, indeed.*' But our empirics won't have their rotten part even touched, much less extracted—for it is my conscientious belief, and I do not speak without inquiry, that the Whigs will never make even the repeal of the Septennial bill a cabinet measure. Why then do they affect to be surprised if the great bulk of the people of England, who are convinced that nothing but a Reform in Parliament can save us, are totally indifferent to that, for which alone the Whigs labour, namely, for the Whigs coming into place? Why are they surprised to find that there are many people in England like the old woman of Syracuse, who prayed for the life of Dionysius, the tyrant, because she knew *his* wickedness, but did not know what might be the villainies played by those who came after him? But, really, Gentlemen, I forget myself—I forget what sort of a person it is that presumes to address you—I forget that the organ of the great body of the educated nobility has pronounced me, not only 'ignorant, arrogant, and malignant,' but has interdicted me from fire and water, has pronounced me unworthy of all honest society, as one who must henceforth live as an exile in the heart of his own country. Upon my honour this is a serious sentence; but I shall not unnecessarily afflict myself at it, until I see whether it is confirmed by the voice of my fellow-countrymen. I may, I think, be allowed to say, that I have seen no proof of it in the reception I have been honoured with this evening. I shall, therefore, beg the Whigs to put off my punishment to the day of their Reform of Parliament, and if they agree to this adjournment, I am sure that I shall sleep sound for the rest of my life.

" Mr. Hobhouse, at the desire of the Chairman, gave—

" 'The illegally disfranchised Electors of Westminster, and a speedy end to that taxation which makes men poor, and punishes them for being so.'

" Mr. RICHTER said, the disfranchisement of electors called upon him to state, that the recent illegal disfranchisement will not go without remedy. By a petition which would be presented to

the House of Commons, to-morrow or the next day, he hoped that disfranchisement would be set aside. Mr. Hobhouse had said, that he should not have a speedy occasion again to address them. He knew, however, and had sufficient authority to assure them that Mr. Hobhouse would very shortly address them—(*Applause*),—and what is more, he believed that Mr. Hobhouse will represent them in parliament, from the result of the last election.—(*Loud applause.*) When he said he believed so, he made the declaration from such a proof of circumstances as would convict and hang a man at the Old Bailey, though he was not sure of such consequences, seeing that the jury were not likely to be respectable and independent *Electors, but Boroughmongers*. He did not know what effect such violations might produce, but he knew what they ought to produce. The people of England might be sure that nothing would be left undone to obtain redress, if full justice could not be obtained. ‘Tis not in mortals to command success, but we’ll do more, deserve it.’ For that purpose, he invited all who knew any thing of actual bribery, treating, violence, or unfair influence of any kind practised in the late contest, to come forward and inform the Committee sitting in this house, and they may depend upon it, that such information on behalf of public freedom, and their suffrages, should not lie dormant or be neglected!—(*Applause.*)

“ ‘May no Man be deprived of his Civil Rights on account of his Religious Opinions.’ ”

“ Mr. THELWALL thought they had drank the toast with no acclamations; he trusted and hoped that they had received it with deep whispers of the heart, such as would do justice to those principles which could alone give effect to claims for the support of public freedom. In political compacts we must be bound by common consent; but in religious affairs the right of a thousand is no more than the right of one; and a man has no more right to ask toleration of them than they have from him; his belief is a matter between God and himself, and to them we ought to leave it. From a corresponding principle of justice, we maintain that a man shall have his vote, live wherever he will. The right of conscience is sacred, and a man is no more accountable to his fellow-creatures for it than for the colour of his hair. Salvation and faith are things impressed on his mind by a Power which neither he nor others can control; reason or education may decide for him in such a case, but you cannot decide. He considered that liberty of conscience is comprised in Radical Reform; it is not radical if it excludes Catholics, because they eat fish on Friday. He felt it necessary to say one thing in favour of

Radical Reform; he felt the same moderation towards their adversaries as Sir Francis Burdett; he would express a hope that the quarrel between Major Cartwright and Sir Francis Burdett may have a speedy and happy termination. *We may like Whiggism, but abhor that party which now calls itself the Whigs*; we may be opposed by Whigs, and served by superior individuals of their body. It mattered little who were representatives, if sympathy could be maintained between the parties. Above all things they should avoid useless distinctions and differences, till triumph was secured; then they would be able to examine their differences, and know how far it would be advisable to separate. A word or two on the terms as generally applied to the Reformers, such as violence, danger, mischief, and so on; he defied their enemies to give proof of this, nay, he charged all those very evils upon them. His own utmost violence was, *'love one another, embrace like brothers.'* He then alluded to the Protestant petitions in Dublin, and the glorious meeting at the Rotunda. He hoped and believed that they would continue to proclaim the principle of Reform, and that it would be loud and powerful enough to rouse the kingdom in its behalf. They might then, like the mayor of Dublin, feel proud of being proscribed by the circle of little minds, who are afraid either of liberty of conscience, or the rights and exercise of general suffrage.—(*Applause.*)

“ ‘The Liberty of the Press—it is like the air we breathe; if we have it not, we die.’

“ Tune.—*Liberty Hall.*

“ ‘Lord Cochrane, and the Cause of Liberty all over the World.’

“ Tune.—*Peruvians, rise to Glory.*

“ The Chairman, with Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, retired about 10 o'clock.

“ The dinner and the whole of the proceedings were managed with judgment; and the company, which was as respectable as it was numerous, having spent the day to their entire satisfaction, withdrew at a late hour.

" A SONG, SUNG AT THE WESTMINSTER DINNER.

" OLD ENGLISH FREEDOM.

(" TUNE.—ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND.)

" In this age when curs'd feudal oppression 's afloat,
Depriv'd of our lodging, our food, and our coat ;

In this age, &c.

To submit to such tyrants would be to promote

The ruin of famous Old England,

The ruin of Old English fame.

To submit to such, &c.

" 'Twas Westminster's pride, and the hope of the land,
Who call'd forth the People to make a bold stand ;

'Twas Westminster, &c.

And gave to Election the force of command,

To recover the freedom of England,

The basis of Old English fame.

And gave to Election, &c.

" But lordly corruption 's laid naked and bare,
Reform to obtain, we can never despair ;

But lordly corruption 's, &c.

The People demand it—oppose it who dare.

We'll again have the freedom of England,

Again we'll have Englishmen free.

The People demand it, &c.

" Then muster your strength, and push forward the cause,
We will yet send in HOBHOUSE with loudest applause ;

Then muster, &c.

For Reform we'll contend, but hold fast to the laws,

Once the glory of famous Old England,

Old England's true glory and fame.

For Reform, &c.

" Then union's the word, we'll be firm as a rock,
With BURDETT and HOBHOUSE we'll yet give a shock ;

Then union's, &c.

To Corruption—and bring all her tools to the block,

'Twill establish the freedom of England,

Old England's true glory and fame.

To Corruption, &c."

The following papers were laid on each of the plates, and afterwards distributed among the Electors at large.

“ TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

“ THE Committee of yourselves who conducted the late Election, made a Report to you on the 9th of February last.

“ That Report, and the Speech of Mr. Hobhouse on the same day, roused the spleen of the Whig faction : it could not bear the truth to be spoken even in part, and feared the consequences ; it knew that from the moment the people should really understand its views, all hope of wresting the Government from the hands of the present Ministers would be hopeless.

“ The course pursued by the faction for several years past, proves that they thought the People were blind to its true character, and it was prepared to appeal to the people in support of its fictitious character, by fraudulently pretending that it had been the cause of Mr. Hobhouse's return for Westminster, had that Gentleman walked over the course ; and this was only prevented by the Report of your Committee. If the Report of your Committee had not deprived the faction of the means of deception, it would, through the press, and by the opportunity it has of addressing itself to the public in various ways, have made a merit of returning Mr. Hobhouse ; it would have demanded of him, an unqualified support of its party measures, and it would have branded him as an ungrateful, unprincipled apostate, had he opposed any of them. It would have put a cheat upon the Reformers ; it would have gained character with the country by its duplicity, and have done injury to Reform by its dishonesty.

“ The Report, and the Speech of Mr. Hobhouse, at once prevented the faction accomplishing either of those unworthy purposes ; disappointment deprived it of reason—it could contain its rage no longer, and it precipitately plunged into a contest which has happily drawn upon it the attention of the whole body of the People, and has enabled a very large portion of them fully to appreciate its false pretensions. It has convinced them, that there is no real difference between the Whig and Tory factions, except the difference which always existed ; namely, that the Tories would exalt the Kingly power, that it might trample upon the Aristocracy and the people ; while the Whigs desire to establish an Aristocratical oligarchy to trample on the King and the People. There never was, nor is there

now, any other difference between them, both alike would subject the People to their arbitrary dominion, and both alike deserve what the one has long had, and the other has at last obtained—the contempt of the People!

“ The Whigs have procured a seat for Mr. Lamb, and they affect to call it a victory; a victory, if it were one, gained over the People: they however know that it is not a victory. Had they indeed obtained a victory, their conduct would be the very reverse of what it is; the uneasiness they exhibit—the mean personalities they indulge in—the petulant and angry feelings they continually express—all prove, that so far from having subdued the people, or gained character for themselves, they are conscious they have sunk, never to rise again.

“ But they have seated Mr. Lamb—how has this been accomplished?

“ By an appeal to the sense of the People?—No.

“ By any offers of service to the Public?—No.

“ By pledging themselves to pursue measures to improve the condition of the People?—No.

“ By undertaking to use their efforts to reduce the overwhelming burthen of Taxation?—No.

“ By proposing to destroy the demoralising and savage Excise Laws?—No.

“ By promising any REFORM of PARLIAMENT?—No.

“ By any one proposition beneficial to the People?—No.

“ What then have they done which the most inveterate Tory would not have done?—Nothing.

“ In what then consists the difference between the two factions in respect of the People?—In Nothing.

“ They have procured a seat for Mr. Lamb—by what means?

“ By a coalition with the Tories against the People.

“ By a coalition with the very party, which during the former Election, supported Captain Maxwell against them.

“ By the power of their purse.

“ By undue influence.

“ By terror—by promises—by threats.

“ By taking advantage of the poverty of the times to seduce those they could not intimidate.

“ By an alliance with the very refuse of society.

“ By hiring ruffians.

“ By treating.

“ By other contrivances, which as they will probably be considered in another place, need not now be mentioned.

“ By all the base arts which formerly disgraced Westminster, and which you had driven away.

“ In seating Mr. Lamb, they have manifested their own unworthiness, and have materially assisted in promoting the very cause they coalesced to destroy.

“ The country need scarcely be told, that an individual more or less on the side of Reform in the House of Commons, however desirable in some respects, is of small importance in comparison with such an opportunity as the late election afforded, of unmasking and exposing the People's enemies, and thus rendering them comparatively harmless: thus the faction begins to feel, and as it has no weapons of reason with which to continue the combat, it resorts in its agony to those of personal invective, abuse, and calumny.

“ The Whigs would indeed address themselves to the very people against whom they coalesced, but they know not how to address them with effect. A feeble effort has however been made by Lord Erskine, in praise of himself and the Whigs, which has the merit (and it has no other) of keeping their misdeeds out of sight.—It professes to be in favour of Reform, and would seem to insinuate, that it prefers the plan of the ‘Friends of the People,’ but it presently declares, that all the Reform it seeks is the disfranchisement of one or two rotten boroughs.

“ He praises the Whigs for their efforts in 1793, and he condemns you for doing the same thing in your Report.

“ He complains of perverseness in the Reformers, because they have not become apostates; he condemns them because they still continue to repeat the substance of the petition, which the author himself and Lord Grey, brought into the House of Commons: Whig-like, he praises and condemns the same thing in the same breath.

“ The noble Lord would persuade the People, to apply the isolated measures which the Whigs at any former time pursued in favor of the People to the Whigs of the present day, to the degraded, despised aristocrats, whose conduct you so lately witnessed; and he would have the People forget all their atrocious acts against them.

“ He praises the revolution of 1688, and insinuates most falsely that the Whigs are now willing to bring back the government to

what it was then made : he praises the Bill of Rights as a second Magna Charta, but he takes care not to acknowledge that the Whigs rendered this second Charter of no avail to the People : he does not inform us that the Bill of Rights was only a declaratory Statute in the nature of a preamble to other statutes, which ought to have been made to carry its declarations into effect, which statutes the Whigs took care should never be made. He does not say that the Whigs rendered all the declarations of that statute null and void : he does not tell us, that in 1688, and for five years afterwards, Parliaments ought to have been ANNUAL or rather SESSIONAL, *as they had for many centuries been*, and that every departure therefrom was a stretch of arbitrary power, under the name of prerogative ; he does not tell us, that the Whigs proposed a bill to make them triennial, which the King more than once refused to sign, and that it was not until the sixth year of his reign, that for the first time in this country, Parliaments could by LAW be continued for three years.

“ He does not tell us that the Whigs made the septennial act, to continue themselves in power for seven years, when they had only been elected for three years—nor that THEY called those who opposed that act Tories—nor that they put a cheat upon the People, who expected the bill would expire with the Whig parliament which made it—nor that the People throughout England made bonfires for joy, when that rascally parliament expired. He has not told us, that the Whigs formed and established the Excise Laws as they now exist—nor that they commenced the abominable Funding System—nor that they first made it death by law to forge the paper of their Bank ; neither has he once told us, that the great grievances of which we justly complain, originated with the Whigs, who under a pretence of a love of liberty have stabbed it more frequently and more deeply than the Tories themselves.

“ He applauds the Whig and Grenville coalition ; he praises the Whigs for having abolished the Slave Trade ; but he says not one word on the other acts of their administration, atrocious as those acts were.

“ Let us take a rapid glance at their acts and deeds in the one short year of their administration, and thus in some measure supplying the deficiency of the noble author.

“ Grenville was one of the fathers of the act to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act—the Gagging Act—the new fangled Treason Act—the principal promoter of the war against human freedom in

1798—the unrelenting persecutor of Reformers at all times; yet from the love of power, and desire of emolument, the Whigs bowed down under the People's adversaries, and submitted to be picked out man by man by Grenville.

“ With the Grenvilles and the Windhams, with those whose most conspicuous attribute was a furious rage against all Reform, they made common cause.

“ They reprobated the system pursued by Pitt, and Grenville, and Windham, and Dundas; they called that system ‘ ruinous, inquisitorial, execrable, diabolical, destructive of liberty;’ they said insurrection against it was a duty, the performance of which duty was merely a question of prudence; yet they took Place under the Grenvilles, to carry on the very system against which insurrection was a duty.

“ They talked of the extravagance of Pitt's and Grenville's administration, of the enormous load of debt and taxes which bent the People to the earth; yet the moment they got into power, they told the People to remove from the first floor to the garret, that the debt and the taxes might both be increased.

“ They called the income tax, a tax ‘ worthy only of the inquisition,’ yet they raised that ‘ highwayman's tax’ from 6½ to 10 per cent.

“ They increased the assessed taxes.

“ They laid on no less than seven millions of taxes, which on the average of the preceding years, was twice as much as Pitt had laid on.

“ They taxed the income of widows and orphans, and soldiers and sailors, 10 per cent. They screwed one pound out of every ten pounds from their pittances, and they exempted the enormous property which the King had placed in the funds from all taxes whatever; this money, which from its having been saved, was proved not to have been necessary to support the splendour of the Throne—this money therefore unnecessarily wrung from the People in taxes—this money which had been lent to the government to carry on wars and to promote corruption—for the interest of this money they compelled the People to pay taxes. At the moment they exempted the King's money from the tax, they made every one else pay: they added no less a sum than 51,000*l.* a year to the incomes of the King's sons and daughters, out of the taxes they levied upon the People, which Pitt had refused to do; because, as they would have us believe, the King was himself too poor to provide for his children.

“ Besides adding 6000*l.* a year to the incomes of the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, and Cambridge, they gave to those Dukes from the Admiralty Droits, (from the money which

in fairness should have been divided among our sailors,) no less a sum than 75,000*l*.

" They who had vehemently condemned a profuse expenditure of the public money, when out of office, were more profuse and more extravagant than those they had justly condemned.

" They granted more pensions and to a larger amount; they crammed more hungry sycophants with the public money, than had ever before been done in the same space of time.

" They seized upon sinecures and all other corrupt sources of emolument for themselves and their followers, with a ravenousness, which surprised even the bloodsuckers they pulled off.

" They told the People, that Pitt's conduct was ' ruinous, destructive of liberty, execrable, inquisitorial, infamous; that the system he pursued justified rebellion: ' but when they got into power, they told the People by the mouth of their leader, ' that they never voted in their lives with more satisfaction, than they should do for the payment of his debts (with the People's money), because it was a tribute due to departed worth, the reward of a munificent nation to a meritorious public servant.' Thus treacherously, basely belying their own assertions—thus inhumanly extorting the substance of the People on account of him, whom they had declared to be the bitterest enemy of that very People.

" They made Lord Grenville (the coadjutor of Pitt, the associate of him and Dundas in all their proceedings against the liberty, the property, and the happiness of the People) the auditor of his own accounts!

" They made him first Lord of the Treasury.

" They made an act to enable him to hold a sinecure of 4000*l*. a year with a place of 6000*l*. a year.

" They made the Chief Justice Ellenborough, a member of the King's Cabinet Council. This, so far as depended on them, was an attempt to destroy the independence of a judge.

" They placed a judge in a situation ' to decide on bringing a man to trial in that very Court, where one of the Ministers whom he had perhaps accused and irritated, would preside, not merely to direct and influence the jury, but eventually in his own person, to award the amount of his fine, and the duration of his imprisonment.'

" Thus manifesting their hatred of liberty—their hatred of a free press; thus endeavouring to destroy both; thus taking strides towards arbitrary power, which Pitt and Dundas had never dared to take.

" They attempted to levy a tax on the raw produce of the country—they proposed a tax on iron mines; which they were

obliged to abandon on account of its partiality, impolicy, injustice, and oppression.

"They attempted to carry the abominable Excise Laws into private houses; by which any man's house might at all times, both by day and by night, be invaded and searched by their myrmidons, and his utensils for brewing be locked up against him. They said; no man shall brew a barrel of table-beer in his own house, for his own use, but by our leave, and under the inspection of our exciseman. No man shall make a gallon of currant wine, but by our permission, and under the eye of our exciseman.

"They opposed the Bank Restriction Bill when out of place.

"They continued the Restriction when in place; and

"They opposed the Bill again when out of place.

"They made an act to legalize the employment of foreign mercenary troops in England, and they increased their number to 16,000.

"They made an act to indemnify those who had illegally employed them.

"They said Hanover was a miserable paltry spot of sand, which had cost us in money many times the value of all its land and all its houses, and more lives than it contained people—they repeated, that it was a mill-stone about the necks of the People of England—they repeated, that it had been, and would be again, the cause of mischievous interference with foreign nations, and the frequent cause of war. Having, by truckling to Grenville, got into power, they said Hanover was as dear to us as Hampshire; that we ought to go to war as cheerfully for the one as the other; and they declared no peace should be made until Hanover was restored.

"They reprobated and condemned Lord Wellesley's administration of India. They pledged themselves thoroughly to investigate his conduct; but when in place, they refused all inquiry. They hunted down the man who accused him, refused the papers necessary to enable him to substantiate his charge: they called upon him to prefer his charges without the documents; and when they could no longer withhold them, they told him to 'proceed at his peril.'

"They made themselves popular by advocating Reform of Parliament; sold themselves to the Grenvillites; howled furiously against Reformers, and stigmatized those who still sought Reform, with the name of Jacobins.

"They offered meanly to give up the Catholic Bill, if the King would consent to retain them in office; but the King refused, and kicked them all out.

"Yet this is the administration Lord Erskine holds out to your admiration!

"The noble author praises the Society of the Friends of the People; and some of its proceedings well deserve all the praises which have been bestowed on them: but do the Whigs of the present day support or approve of those proceedings? Let their whole conduct, from the moment they broke up that Society, answer for them. Lord Erskine, while he affects to bestow praise on that Society, takes care to inform his readers, that all the Reform he asks in the name of the Whigs, is the disfranchisement of one or two rotten boroughs.

"In 1793, the Society of the Friends of the People presented their justly celebrated Petition to Parliament: it was supported, by order of the Society, by the Honorable Charles Grey and the Honorable Thomas Erskine. On the 30th of May, 1795, at a General Meeting of that Society, W. Smith, Esq. M. P. in the chair, 'it was resolved, after due consideration, to publish a declaration,' in which they said, that the 'right of voting should be subject to a qualification so moderate, that there may be no condition in life in which it may not be acquired, by labour, by industry, or by talents.' They said their plan would extend the right of 'suffrage to nearly a million and a half of heads of families;' and they 'admit the general right of voting at elections to be COMMON and PERSONAL.' They say, 'it is undoubtedly desirable, for many reasons, that the collective body of qualified electors should be as NUMEROUS as possible; but principally, because a great number of electors is of itself a better security against corruption, than the severest laws against bribery, by making the individual vote of no value, and hardly worth soliciting. That to reach the numbers, by whom the power ought to be exercised, it must be EQUALLY AND IMPARTIALLY DISTRIBUTED over the whole surface of the kingdom, by a new division of the country.' They add, 'to us it appears, that a new division is indispensable, and that we should only cheat ourselves, and deceive the nation, if for the sake of a useless accommodation, we yielded to any project in which this condition was not included.' 'The whole measure must not only be equal to the whole of its purpose, but it must move together, and act at once with all its force;' and then they say, they will have the whole Reform or none, any thing short of the plan they propose being not only useless but pernicious.

"They proposed 'To divide England into 513 divisions, as equal as possible; to elect one member in each division; and to take the election of the whole representation of the kingdom at the same hour and on the same day.'

"They said 'That a general election for the whole kingdom might be conducted without tumult or expense, and completed in a few hours; and that in future the elections might be TRIENNIAL, BIENNIAL, or even ANNUAL, AS THEY WERE IN FORMER TIMES.—Members of Parliament, who acted faithfully, would be generally re-chosen; but it is neither safe or constitutional to leave any Representative very long out of the reach of his Constituents.'

"The Noble Author calls his pamphlet a Defence of the Whigs. What a miserable defence is that which is obliged to leave all these matters unnoticed, and to rest itself upon a declaration of 'The great difficulty of suddenly originating and maturing any systematic and general change in the Representation.'

"The Society of the Friends of the People say, 'After *long deliberation* we have fixed on a *specific plan* and declared it without reserve.' Yet we are now to be told that we would 'Suddenly originate and mature a plan'; and for this we are to be condemned by the Whigs, by those who having abandoned all their former pretensions, stare with wonder at discovering that they are no longer popular. They were popular when they were REFORMERS.—They are hated by the People now they are nothing but WHIGS.

"The Noble Author tells us, his intention is to save the 'Whigs from being considered as objects of ridicule or reproach.' This cannot be accomplished now, when the very name '*stinks in the nostrils*' of the People.

"Much has been said about conciliation. The Electors of Westminster have always been ready to do every thing in the way of conciliation, which was not an abandonment of the principles they have all along supported. But an attempt has been made to persuade the People, that because a man was called a Whig, he ought to be considered as one who supported a Reform in Parliament. It was necessary to put this false pretence in its true light, and to prove that the Whigs were not Reformers, and this you have made manifest to the whole country: their cheat will serve them no longer. Were the Whigs really Parliamentary Reformers, there would be nothing to conciliate; they would then, like you, desire no other name by which to be designated.

"Under the most trying circumstances, nearly 4000 of you have, in the open face of day, proclaimed yourselves RADICAL REFORMERS; you have thus given to the country a guarantee for future independent, manly, and judicious exertions on the next occasion:

you have thus encouraged the People to continue their exertions in the same good cause.

"The example you have set is producing, and will produce, the best effects all over the United Kingdom.

"The time is past, when party-men, for mere party-purposes, can longer hope to obtain the aid of the People.

"The time is past, when a combination of aristocrats to trample upon the People, can by any contrivance avert from itself the indignation of the People.

"The time is past, when any assembly, whose acts are opposed to the interests of the People, can have any ground of hope for the countenance of the People.

"The time is rapidly arriving, when the contempt of the People for the corruptions of the House of Commons, will compel that House to attend to their request for a Radical Reform in the Representation of the People.

"The time is come, when it is more than ever the duty of every man to adopt the recommendation of Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, made by him in 1794—when in his place in the House of Commons, he said—'*This House will never reform itself or destroy the corruption by which it is upheld, by any other means than those of the resolutions of the People acting upon the prudence of the House, and that point they could only accomplish by meeting in bodies as recommended by the Minister (Pitt) in 1782.*'

"The time will probably not be long before the Electors will be again called upon to exercise their franchise, and this they will assuredly do as honest men: they will then set another grand example before the country, by returning SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and Mr. HOBHOUSE, as their Representatives to Parliament.

"March 16, 1819."

To the Three Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-One Electors of Westminster, who, in defiance of the menaces and the bribes of a despotic and corrupt Government; of a degenerate Nobility; of the arms of Power; of the Arts of a selfish, base, and usurping Faction; dared to assert their Right to be Represented, by a Man freely chosen by themselves; and, in the worst Times of Treachery, Cowardice, and Submission, proved faithful to the glorious cause of Truth, Honour, and Liberty!

THE HOMAGE OF A FELLOW-LABOURER.

I.

WHEN Xerxes the banner of Asia unfurl'd,
To chain the last freemen then left in the world,
Three hundred, alone, all his myriads defied,
And the triumph was theirs, tho' they fell and they died.

II.

Their glorious example still liv'd, to inspire
Each bosom of Greece with the patriot fire;
And the laurels that grew on Thermopylæ's tomb
Were crowns for her heroes of ages to come.

III.

Oh! friends of your country, though numbers oppress,
Yet time and occasion must bring you redress;
Recoil'd and collected, still closer adhere,
And this be the watch-word of all—PERSEVERE.

IV.

See power and corruption their forces unite,
And courtiers and nobles press on to the fight;
Each vassal who envies the free and the brave
And longs all mankind, like himself, to enslave!

V.

Each coward who shrinks from the frown of his Lord,
Contentedly draws on the people his sword:
Each rogue rushes on to extinguish your fame,
And prove that such virtue was only a name!

VI.

The spoilers of England so eager to keep,
For ever, each mite of their ill-gotten heap,
Indignantly raise all their voices to drown
The cry of a nation that asks for its own!

VII.

Those, too, who impatiently wait for the hour
That shall give them their portion of plunder and pow'r,
Their idle contentions a moment forego,
And turn all their arms on the popular foe.

VIII.

Vain all their endeavours with freemen to cope,
For Liberty leans on the Anchor of Hope!
No moon, not a star may illumine the sphere,
But she looks where the day-break at last must appear.

IX.

The patriot may perish, the traitor may fly,
But her cause is immortal and never can die!
Late triumphs, but certain, her warriors shall crown,
Nor slaves, with their numbers, can trample them down:

X.

And wherefore, ye champions of Britain, despair
For the fate of the battle when BURDETT is there?
His voice is your thunder, His arm is your host;
He has not retreated—then nothing is lost!

XI.

Behold your own Hero still manfully strive
To keep the last spark of your freedom alive!
Though all should desert Him, undauntedly true
To the station assigned Him by virtue and you.

XII.

There, there, like some column, majestic and grand,
Behold Him, 'midst ruins, in solitude stand:
Time, tyrants, corruption—surviving, to shew
Where the temple of freedom stood ages ago!

XIII.

Oh! friends, when old Time shall have crumbled the stone
Which tells that the first of our patriots is gone,
When malice, and envy, and hatred, are not,
And the lie and the liar, alike, are forgot.

XIV.

Our annals of England may faithfully tell
 How hardly He struggled, how long and how well:
 How fearlessly saw every friend drop away,
 And still, in the face of the world, stood at bay!

XV.

Yet where, tell me where, shall posterity find
 A portrait to show the fair form of His mind?
 That temper unruffled, that spirit so gay,
 Those wishes so kind, and so pleased to give way!

XVI.

Those manners so simple, those feelings so strong,
 That sense of the right, and that horror of wrong!
 That air unaffected, yet noble and free,
 Which shows us what Englishmen were and should be.

XVII.

With Him, then, ye Freeman, to fight by your side—
 With him for a Patron, a Friend, and a Guide—
 Your virtuous career still pursue, undismay'd,
 And know that your triumph is only delay'd!

XVIII.

For the day must arrive—see the Giant awakes!
 His chains are but rushes—the bondage he breaks!
 Once more the proud Eagle of England is young;
 His plumage more brilliant, his pinion more strong.

XIX.

Oh! vision of Glory! the struggle is o'er,
 And, free as the billows that circle her shore:
 The nation of nations, in majesty bright,
 Expands all her charms, and displays all her might.

XX.

Then, then, shall your country, exulting, declare,
 Who fought the good fight in the day of despair—
 Her Westminster Patriots—her faithful and few—
 And Fame weave her ever-green garlands for you.

THE reader will have observed a reference to an intended petition to the House of Commons against Mr. Lamb's return.—That petition was presented by Sir Francis Burdett on the next day. It set forth that Mr. Lamb's return had been procured by the employment of armed men, by bribery, by the unconstitutional influence of peers and peeresses, and by the partiality of the returning officer, particularly manifested in the disfranchisement of the Electors who had not paid their poor rates.

It was resolved to undertake this petition as usual by subscription, and accordingly lists were left open for signatures. But it appeared that the Electors had been exhausted by the expenses of two elections in nine months; both to this cause, and to a distrust of the tribunal, must be attributed the resolution to abandon the petition. It should be mentioned that the violence had been already proved before a court of law to have proceeded from the hired partizans of the Whigs. Of the bribery, the Committee were in possession of undoubted proofs, traceable to the immediate friends of Mr. Lamb, but as *that gentleman was desired, to leave the room during any of the doubtful transactions of his Committee*, it might perhaps have been difficult to prove the agency. The influence of peers was directly proved in the interference of their agents, from whom certain written documents were transmitted to the Reformers. The disfranchisement of the voters was of itself in the eyes of any impartial man a sufficient reason for doubting of the propriety of the return, and the Reformers had it in their power to show, that besides several hundred Electors whose votes had been refused upon the pretext of non-payment of the rates, a much greater number had been deterred from appearing at the poll by the same decision of the High Bailiff. In spite, however, of these arguments, the Electors of Westminster despaired of procuring a fair hearing, and even had they been in possession of sufficient funds, it is possible, that after the decision against the Rochester Reformers, they might have been induced to abandon so discouraging an attempt.

In consequence of the petition being dropped, one of the Electors has prosecuted the High Bailiff for refusing his vote, and all the Electors must necessarily wait in great anxiety for the issue of this suit.

To uphold the principles of Reform, which has been the business of our lives, we shall here insert a correct account of our last annual celebration (the 12th) on the 28rd of May, of the Triumph of Westminster, extracted from the Champion Sunday newspaper.

"The meeting was highly respectable. Between three and four hundred gentlemen sat down to an excellent dinner; and the gallery was crowded with ladies, eager, no doubt, to listen to the oratory, to which such an occasion seldom fails to give rise. After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were given:

"The only source of Legitimate Power, the People."

"Tune—*Britons, strike home.*"

"The Regent; and may he always remember his own declaration, that the Crown is held in trust for the benefit of the People."

"Tune—*Hope told a flattering Tale.*"

"May the United Kingdoms be speedily enabled to follow the example set them by Westminster, in 1807, viz. to elect their own Representatives!"

"Tune—*Old England, to thyself be true.*"

"MR. ADAMS rose. He had a name to propose, in itself too interesting and important to the assembly to need a word of comment from him; he would not waste words, nor the time of the company in introducing it; they must be sure that he meant, 'Sir Francis Burdett.' This produced a burst of applause, in the midst of which

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT arose, and spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—At the same time that I endeavour to make a due acknowledgment of your kindness towards me, and to repeat that which I have on so many happy occasions professed, and truly professed, my attachment to the Electors of Westminster, I shall also attempt to make a few observations on the state of the country, and particularly of your individual position, such as the circumstances which have transpired since our last anniversary, may seem to require. The period is short, but it has teemed with important events. Nay even in the few weeks which have intervened since our last meeting in this room, truths, long and angrily denied, have at last been admitted, and admitted with a willingness not to be expected from reluctant adversaries. Much as I may be inclined not to renew disagreeable recollections, not to revive expiring animosities, it is still incumbent upon me to take some notice of the opposition experienced by us, and by our cause, at the last election. You must be aware that I do not allude to the hostility of ministers, an hostility for which the people are naturally prepared; but you will

at once recognise the feeling that directs me towards another body of politicians, who ought, surely, to have been ranged rather upon our side than against us, and who, I say it without fear of contradiction even by themselves, have done their characters an irreparable injury, by espousing an interest so manifestly opposed to public feeling. Gentlemen, I feel myself compelled to allude to the circumstances of the late election, not for the purposes of any angry comment on what is past, but rather as an instruction for what is to come. During our late struggle, we witnessed an extraordinary coalition of influences, never I believe before combined for any object either good or bad. This coalition, together with a recurrence to means which we would scorn to use, and which your purity has long taught you to despise, gave to our opponent a triumph not certainly to be attributed either to his own merits, or to those of his party, or to those of the principles of which it was pretended he was the advocate. During the contest, you will remember that the Whigs stoutly denied the existence of any such coalition. The usual fate of conspirators has awaited them; they have, within these few days, been openly charged with the coalition, even by those who are united with them, and they have been denounced by their allies in that unnatural confederacy. The Tories told them, that they, the Whigs, so far from enjoying any triumph upon the return of their candidate, had been covered with opprobrium, and had reaped nothing but disgrace from their untimely appeal to popular opinion. The reply made to this insinuation by the Whig leader, was a direct acknowledgment of that union, which, on the hustings, they utterly disclaimed; but the Honorable Gentleman took care to proclaim that the public indignation was not directed against the Whigs, but against the Tories, who had 'incumbered them with help.'—On this confession I must take leave to observe, that whilst it conveys the manifest truth as to the union of the two parties against the people, it makes an equally decisive misstatement as to the individual objects of public odium on the late occasion. They were not the Tories, or Court party, who incensed the people of Westminster; they only acted as auxiliaries. Your foremost enemies, the aim of all your indignant remonstrances, were the Whigs; were those whom you regarded as deserters from your camp, and as apostates from your cause. It is true that a regular ministerial candidate must, in Westminster, be the peculiar object of public hatred; and with such feelings Sir M. Maxwell had doubtless to contend; but I do conceive it equally true that not even a regular ministerial candidate could have awakened such sentiments of aversion as were raised by the Whigs, and manifested against that party during the late struggle. The hopes of the electors had been excited; their zealous exertions in the great cause of *Radical Reform* seemed about to be crowned

with another victory: was it not natural then, that when the Whigs unexpectedly stepped into the field, and bore away a prize which they had not won, and which they could not wear; was it not natural, I say, that the people should feel more disgust for their pretended friends, than for their declared and habitual enemies? Gentlemen, after what has passed, after the mutual crimination between the confederates, after the reproach of unpopularity cast by the Tories upon the Whigs, and the ungrateful deprecation of former assistance thrown out by the Whigs to insult the Tories, it is not I think to be expected that we shall again have to contend with a similar combination. I feel confident, that on the next occasion we shall not be favored with an opponent making even the least pretence to liberal principles, but shall have to contend with a regular Court Candidate, backed by the direct power of the Crown. Gentlemen, there is no doubt, that, if any where, the people are strong in Westminster; but strong as they are, their enemies are also powerful. You will again have to contend with those enemies, armed with all the weapons of corruption.

“Be not dismayed—but be not too confident. Let the conviction of the great force which will be arrayed against you, serve only to animate your zeal, and to insure your triumph. I repeat, the Court will certainly on the next occasion, produce a candidate purely of its own choosing. My colleague has already done enough to deserve the desertion of a great part of his former supporters; for, Gentlemen, I must be candid, I must confess that although Mr. Lamb carried his election in direct hostility to popular feeling; although he came into the House in a manner which could reflect no credit upon himself or his friends, still he has conducted himself since his return, so as to merit the general approbation, and to shew that he entertains a proper sense of his parliamentary duty; so much so, indeed, that I hope that when the great question, the only great and important question—Parliamentary Reform, shall come to be discussed, he will not fail the most where he will be the most wanted. I may add, indeed, that all hopes founded on the merits of mere party men, of men who regularly enroll themselves under a conscience-keeper, are but the straws at which drowning men will catch with all the eagerness of despair; and this remark seems peculiarly applicable to the present forlorn condition of the country, when almost all those who, by their station in the kingdom, might be supposed most concerned in its welfare, have, as if by common consent, abandoned the interests of the state. It is, however, important to know that all the Whigs do not now professedly abandon Reform; for when their leader the other night was charged with this desertion, he absolutely denied the charge. This, from a leading individual amongst them was consolatory; but I must still avow,

that as a party I see no help in them ; I see that there is no promise of their attempting any measure of solid and salutary policy—they are the rope of sand—of fair and specious texture—good for show—incapable of service—they can hold nothing together—they can lift no weight—the country looks at them without confidence, and resigns those hopes which experience has proved so fallacious. How strange is it, Gentlemen, that the *party* cannot see, that if they were once more connected with the *people*—if they reposed upon fair ground of public esteem without doors, and acted on honest principles of disinterested union within the doors of Parliament, they could, in all human probability, be still capable of useful exertion, and make even the name of party, perhaps, somewhat respectable. At present, however, whatever contention there may exist amongst public men, it is, if not pernicious, at least altogether useless, and of no effect. Let me ask you, Gentlemen, whether our parliamentary politicians can now be said to add any thing to the aggregate wisdom of the nation. The House of Commons is certainly rather the land of promise than the region of discovery. There it is that truth places her last footsteps ; and the light, if it ever penetrate, comes only when it has long illumined every other quarter of the empire. We have had committees and inquiries, and laborious investigations of every kind,—and for what ? For the decision of truisms which men of vulgar but unbiassed understanding have decided many years ago. And yet every portion of the country, all classes of society, still continue to look to what they call the State for consolation and for amendment. Ireland has lately revived those hopes which have been a hundred times defeated ; she has again lifted her imploring eyes towards Parliament for a redress of those grievances which are imposed by tyranny, and which maxims of state equally odious and absurd, which hypocrisy long detected, but nevertheless practised, would still endeavour to perpetuate. Her voice has again been raised, and raised in vain. Scotland also, who has long groaned in secret, has at last aspired to seek a remedy for the evils of her ruinous Burgh system, which is but the epitome of our own unhappy condition, as it subjects her to the control of self-elected magistrates, against whom there is no appeal on behalf of those who have been robbed of their rights. The Scotch burghers, like ourselves, are taxed by those whom they do not appoint to tax them ; the Scotch burghers, like ourselves, see their substance unjustly wrung from them, and then wasted in profligate expenditure of no earthly benefit to the community. They naturally wish to have some share in the appointment of those who are to exercise this discretionary power. They came to parliament, and a late vote has made them flatter themselves with some hopes of success. But I differ with our friends of the North in this expectation. I fear it

will not be so easy as they think, *far north as they come*, to cajole corruption, to hoodwink despotism, to steal a march upon the vigilance of selfishness. I must, indeed, be allowed to observe, that I do not think their proceedings quite justifiable in fairness, and I feel sure that they are not defensible in policy. They have no scruples as to the justice with which they demand reform for themselves—but they take care to deny any participation in the general wish for the same benefit which is so loudly proclaimed by their English neighbours—they go to a Boroughmonger parliament to purify their own Boroughs; and, at the same time, they affix terms of scorn and reprobation to the petitions which the English people have presented against a similar usurpation. Now, I can tell these gentlemen, that the parliament no more dares emancipate them from their Borough tyrants, than it dares emancipate us from our Borough proprietors. It no more dares to give the Scotch people a share in the management of their own affairs, than it dares to give the English people a share in the control of theirs; it dares no more appeal to the voice of the nation on the north of the Tweed than it dares appeal to the voice of the nation on the south of the Tweed. Let me then be allowed to recommend to our fellow-subjects, Irish, Scotch, and English, to feel that their interests are common, and that when any of them seek for partial benefits for themselves to the exclusion of others, they not only will gain nothing for themselves, but, on the contrary, only favour the delusion, and betray the mutual cause of all. I am aware that complaint has been made of me, as if I were not willing to aid our Scotch friends in their demand; but I will now confess the real truth—I did not, as I before said, feel any confidence in their taking corruption by surprise; but I was still willing that they should make the attempt their own way, and for this purpose I declined all open interference; in other words, I would not spoil sport; I would not be a Marplot; I was certain that if I had spoken on the subject, I might have done mischief by too liberal an explanation, and I felt equally confident, that, had the project failed, the whole misfortune would have been charged upon me. It is not true, however, that I did not support the measure: I did support it, I supported it as I will any plan of reform, because I think the recognition of the principle cannot fail of producing a public good. As to my opinions on Reform, I trust they are well known. I still think that the Resolutions which I moved in the last session of the last parliament, would completely effect the end in view; I would certainly wish to extend the suffrage to every male of 21 years of sound mind and good conduct. As to the duration of parliaments, I cannot say that I see any thing indispensable in the period of annual parliaments; and I am quite sure, that, historically, a year cannot be said to be the precise duration of the

English House of Commons. In the best times of our history, parliaments indeed were convened much oftener than once a year; and, I believe, that on one occasion, they were convened five times in one year. Although I do indeed think that the period of a year is a very natural one to assign for their limitation. At the end of a year, it is usual for most men to look into their accounts, to call in their debts, and to provide for the demands of the next twelve months. In the same way the members of annual parliaments, having examined into the national affairs, might be dismissed at the conclusion of the business for which they were called together; nor do I understand what necessity there can be for reassembling the same individual members at this period, any more than there was in those ancient times, from which we have derived the best parts of our institutions. If, however, this, my opinion, should not be the opinion of all, and I know it is not, I still see no reason for dissension amongst ourselves. For my own part, I should be glad to see carried into effect, as many degrees of Reform, as the various professors of that principle would, on the whole, agree mutually to support. If something were done in parliament, I feel certain that it would be no difficult matter to give such a consistency to the general wishes and opinions of the people as would make the measure a truly national measure: and although the plan proposed might not come up to my notions of what would be best to be done, it would surely not be so totally remote from those notions as the present system of corruption and oppression. I have not brought the question of Reform before the present parliament, because I see the present parliament differs in no essential point from the last. We all know the hopes repeatedly expressed, that a new House of Commons will do what the old House of Commons did not do. These hopes are the hopes of every new parliament; they are hopes as regularly disappointed as they are foolishly excited. In the present instance, the mass of members, if not the same, are of the same kind, as sat in the House when I moved my resolutions. I should trust that the Whigs themselves are by this time convinced that their splendid expectations, pronounced with such pomp and precision, are not about to be realised; I trust they see that the system is just the same as before; that it is equally wretched and unmanageable, and can only be corrected by a total Reform? They must by this time be conscious that the insignificance into which they have sunk, must be traced to their attempts to uphold the imperfections of this shattered system. The symptoms of decay are now too obvious to be mistaken; so obvious as to force truths from the mouths of those in whom they are altogether portentous. My Lord Grenville, much to his credit, has lately made use of expressions, which, if they had fallen from me

some little time ago, would have been judged almost treasonable. He has told us that the Bank bubble is about to burst. Gentlemen, it is singular to observe how this great question has been treated; for my own part, I am conscious that any attempt to reduce the quantity of circulation, whatever may be its intrinsic worth, must be productive of grievous injustice, as it will leave the nominal amount of the taxes to be collected in full at the same time that the real value of those taxes must be much augmented. But the Reports of the two Committees have proposed to remedy this evil by a gradual recurrence to cash payments. Thus one payment is to take place in nine months; another is to follow at an equally sagacious and well appointed period, and at last a judgment is to be formed as to the best time for resuming cash payments altogether. Of this remedy we may at least say that it is a long and painful operation which is proposed, and that it is possible the patient may die whilst the doctors are prescribing for his disease. Like quacks, our doctors have, I think, mistaken the symptoms for the disease itself, they have not seen that the symptoms are generally the means which nature adopts for her own alleviation. Like quacks, they have hastily and officiously repelled those symptoms; they have driven in the complaint, and the patient will probably die. Solitary measures, partial remedies have been tried too long; nothing remains but a bold attack upon the root of the whole evil; nothing remains but a cordial union amongst all the friends of freedom in support of that cause which has been the source of my connexion with the people of Westminster; which I have always advocated, and which I will advocate to the last day of my existence. It was amongst you, Gentlemen, that the cause first took root and sprung up into public view; but it has gradually dispersed itself over the whole empire, and will, in due season, bring to the whole empire entire and effectual relief. Gentlemen, I cordially congratulate you on your efforts, both those made by the great body of Reformers, and also your individual exertions. We of the commonalty are not so totally forlorn, so destitute of all weapons of self-defence as is generally supposed. In a very recent controversy between a noble Lord, Lord Erskine, and one of the Swinish multitude, his Lordship, I think, has got, to say the least of it, as good as he brought. The "Reply to Lord Erskine's Defence of the Whigs," must have shown him that we Plebeians make occasionally some intrenchments upon the common division of human qualities, which gives the Aristocracy all the wisdom, and leaves us all the honesty for our paltry share. His Lordship seemed to think so: for he forthwith stepped forward a second time for his party, and produced a rejoinder to his Defence; this was no less fortunate for the exertion of our poor latent capa-

cities than his first pamphlet; for the Rejoinder has, I observe, produced a second Plebeian effort, which is equally creditable to us of inferior rank. Gentlemen, I wish much to recommend this work to your perusal; it is called a 'Defence of the People;' and I can assure you that, in my judgment, it defends you well; so much so, indeed, that from this and other specimens, I am led to fancy that if by some monstrous accident you should be left to the management of your own affairs, you would have no reason to despair. As for myself, Gentlemen, be assured that you may always count upon me. Whatever power, in any way, I may possess, shall be devoted to you and to your cause, to that cause which I have hitherto maintained, under all disadvantages, and which neither sneers, nor threats, nor calumnies, will tempt me even for an instant to desert.

'For I am armed so strong in honesty
That they pass by me like the idle wind
Which I regard not.'

"Tune—' *Whilst happy in my native land.*'

"Sir F. BURDETT, in rising to propose the health of their late gallant Representative, expressed an ardent wish that he might soon return amongst them, to the confusion of his enemies, and the triumph of the cause of Liberty. In accordance with that feeling he would give—

"'Lord Cochrane, and speedy success to the cause of Freedom in South America.'

"Song—' *Peruvians, wake to glory.*'—(Mr. Murphy.)

"'J. C. Hobhouse, Esq. and the 3861 Electors who supported him at the late Election.'

[The number of those who voted for Mr. Hobhouse was given wrong by the elector who read the toast. To which Mr. HOBHOUSE alluded when he thus addressed the company.]

"Gentlemen,—Although the worthy Elector, who has just read the toast to you, has forgotten the number of those who honoured me with their suffrages, you may depend upon it I never shall. The personal distinction intended for me by your kindness, was fully appreciated by me; but I will frankly confess, that I am, if possible, still more grateful when I find, that after our connexion has ceased, you are pleased to insert my name amongst the records of this triumphant day. Believe me, Gentlemen, such flattering notice is not lost upon me—if it be a reward for any small exertions which I may have made in the cause of liberty, it shall also, you may be assured, be an incitement to fresh endeavours. I trust that at all times my

only aim will be the real good and permanent happiness of my fellow-countrymen; and I am quite sure that I shall never seek for any other recompence than their applause. It has long been a saying, transplanted I know not why, from despotic monarchies to this country, that the king is the fountain of honor—and so he may be of that honor which is registered in the history, not of our glories, but of our grievances—not in the annals of the nation, but in the calendar of the court. He may be the fountain of that honour which shines, like the impartial sun, upon the just and the unjust, and which prompts us not unfrequently to throw off that mantle of virtue which we have wrapt resolutely round us during all the hardest storms of adversity. The king may be the source of that honor which the absolute sovereign bestows to dignify his slave, and which, in less happy regions, serves like the jingling of the bells and the flapping of gaudy traces to encourage the laborious duties of servitude. But the honor to which a free-born Englishman (for, my fellow-citizens, we were born free, though we may not die free) the honor to which he should aspire is far different. It tends towards another course—it springs from another fountain—from that pure and sparkling fountain which, as you have well designated it, is the only source of legitimate power—the *People*. They only can fairly understand, they only can fully reward that species of merit which, in a free state, is the most distinguished merit—a perseverance in the behalf of the people against the encroachments of power. The reward, indeed, which the people have it in their power to bestow, is no less simple than it is honorable. It has no intrinsic value independent of the giver and of the occasion. They have nothing but their praise; but this praise is the most glorious as well as the most pure—it is not the golden crown which the enslaved provinces decreed to their Roman conquerors—it is the oaken wreath, given by a freeman to a freeman, for having saved a citizen—Gentlemen, to obtain this praise, it is my settled purpose to devote my life; and I know not where I can bring myself to the test more surely than here in Westminster; for your applauses as well as your disapprobation, find responsive sentiments throughout the empire. This object, though so noble, and that which in ancient times served alone to animate the patriot to every virtuous, to every painful endeavour; this aim which prompted the chief spirits that have ennobled our nature to endure all labour, to despise all shame; to bear bondage with patience, to submit to death with cheerfulness; this glorious aim and reward, it is the fashion and the vice of this age openly to set at naught. Every puny whipster—every courtly sycophant, who willingly passes a whole life of sneaking subserviency to obtain a smile from some great lady, or a nod from some great man, manfully declares his contempt for popular favor; whilst the more sapient politician

makes it his boast, not only that he never obtained, but that he never deserved the applauses of the giddy multitude. If he aspires to a niche in the temple of Fame, it is in that temple of which the chief priestess is the poetic justice of the Dunciad—in that temple

‘Where in nice balance truth with gold she weighs,
‘And solid pudding against empty praise.’

“Thus, Gentlemen, it seems that I do not propose for myself a career in which I shall have many competitors, since the leading characters of the day are kind enough to tell you that they do not direct their actions towards any of the vulgar ends of popularity, and that they willingly leave open the people’s highway for such as may still foolishly condescend to trudge in that old, beaten, worn-out track. It was, I presume, some such magnanimous feeling that made the leader of opposition a few days ago, when he made a motion in order to put his friends in the seats of the present ministers, roundly declare, that his plan of conciliating the affections of the people was ‘*not by any subserviency to popular clamour, or indulging in idle schemes of visionary and impracticable Reform.*’” Gentlemen, this is sufficiently candid and contemptuous. It is as much as to say that your clamour, that is, your cries, are raised when you are not hurt—that they mean nothing, and therefore should affect nobody.—Indeed these natural leaders of ours, or, to use a metaphor lately applied by Lord Erskine, these natural physicians, who are so kind now and then as to watch the progress of our insanity, will not allow us to have any feeling; they remind me of the surgeon who was angry with the man whose tooth he was pulling out for saying he was hurt. ‘Zounds, sir!’ said the doctor, ‘I’m of the profession; don’t you think I know when I hurt you better than you do?’ Thus, Gentlemen, it is with our great politicians; they are of the *profession*; you are nothing but patients; you do not know even when you are really in pain; you may cry out as much as you please, but your opposition doctor cares no more for the crying out than the regular doctor—‘No,’ says he, with noble dignity, ‘I do not judge by vulgar symptoms, I shall cure you my own way; you cry out in the wrong place, but your cries are nothing to me, I will not be subservient to popular clamour.’ It is, however, something gained, that the politicians who wish to form a new administration, do own that something should be done, though in their own way, for ‘conciliating the affections of the people,’ and, it is to be hoped, that at no very distant period of time the same individuals will discover that there is *only one way* by

*—Mr. Tierney’s Speech on the State of the Nation.

which the affections of the people can be conciliated, and that is by our statesmen becoming 'subservient to the popular clamour;' or, in other words, by obeying the general voice, by listening to the loud cries of the people that call for *Reform*. Gentlemen, every system of government by different persons and sets of men has already been tried; we have had statesmen from the right in power, and statesmen from the left in power; but what has been the consequences? Ministry has succeeded ministry; parliament has come after parliament; still no correction—still no amendment—error has multiplied upon error, and instead of acquiring any positive merit, he has been the best man who has committed the fewest blunders. At last we are come to such a pass, that our governors are acknowledged to be the most despised men in the nation. We might think we lived in Turkey, where they always give the wall to an idiot; or we might imagine ourselves to be Russian boors condemned to lose all our ancient habits, and, when we make some little struggle to save our beards, obliged not only to be shaved, but to be shaved as the Czar Peter ordered his refractory subjects to be shaved, with a *dunt razor*; for surely it would be difficult to find a more dull-edged tool than his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer; he strips us of every thing, but that he does so clumsily, that our skin comes off with our clothes. Perhaps, then, Gentlemen, it may be as well to recur now to those to whom we must recur at last—namely, to the PEOPLE THEMSELVES. They have hitherto been totally excluded from the management and the control over their own affairs. It is the universal cry against such an experiment, that the people are *incapable*. At the least they are no worse than their betters, who have been *proved* to be what we are only *said* to be. With respect to them, it is no matter of speculation: it is a matter of record that they *can do nothing*. At last all confidence has been exhausted, and it is seen that all who have hitherto attempted to rule have proceeded upon some mistaken principle, the mixture of which in all their operations, has cherished, instead of redressing the evils of which we complain. It is the fashion of the day to call the people 'wild and visionary;' but to my mind the madmen of the day are those who will not suffer themselves to be taught by the great teacher, time; who, when they see the deception, still favor the deceit; who, in spite of experience, in defiance of the cries of their companions, and of the warnings of their own conscience, still pursue the same fatal career which has already led them to the verge of destruction. *Visionary!* the people visionary? No! the people alone see things as they are. And mark from whence the accusation comes. It comes from those very statesmen who live as it were in a world of delusion; all around them is unreal; here they have the phantom of public credit; there they are beset with ten thousand legal

fictions ; on one side they fancy they behold virtue, strength, capacity, and patriotism presiding at the helm of state : and, more extraordinary still, there they gaze with credulous complacency on that *shadow of a shade*, the mock representation of the people. If we are wild and visionary, we do at least place our confidence in something which has not hitherto been proved to be ineffectual ; but our veteran statesmen still wish to prolong a dream which they have for years felt to be so painful, and which seems likely to end in the sleep of death. Those whose incapacity is recorded, who have never made an effort that has not ended in their own confusion, ought to be in truth candid enough to refrain from arguing against your interference, as if you had, equally with themselves, been tried in the balance and found wanting. But the same objections are always found against that plan which is the only plan now remaining to be tried, and rather than attempt to infuse any portion of democratic spirit into our decayed institutions, our great men are still reduced to try over again all the old nostrums which have not only failed to cure, but have by common consent been allowed to cherish the disease ; they are still resolved to hug to their arms that loathsome, putrid, scarce animated mass of corruption, and, against the evidence of their senses, pretend to fancy, and dare to call it, that once fair and blooming mistress of our hearts, the British Constitution.

" Gentlemen,—we cannot conceal from ourselves, that at no time did such a resolution against reform of parliament prevail in parliament, as at the present moment. It was, indeed, some consolation to hear the leader of opposition exclaim the other day, that ' he was as much for Reform as ever ; ' a declaration, however, which it must be observed, was elicited from him by a remark from your worthy Representative. But what is this solitary confession of the party leader, if he cannot, and he owned he could not, carry his party along with him ; whatever may be the inclination of the leader, it is clear that the great art of parliamentary tactics now is to affix the odium of an inclination for Reform upon whatever measure it is the object to hold up to detestation : and the whole art of the opponent party seems directed to ward off the damnable suspicion. This feeling has proceeded at last to so ridiculous a length, that although the honorable House is, historically, the oldest strumpet in Christendom, and like Quartilla in Petronius, cannot even recollect when she was a maid, yet by a sort of tacit consent the slightest imputation on her virgin purity is become a blasphemy worse than all the seven deadly sins ; and there are actually two or three parliamentary bullies ready almost to knock any one down who dares to sully the fair fame and credit of the House. And yet in spite of all this discreet exterior, in spite of every attempt to keep up the *farce*, the House is as well known as if the Society for the Suppression of

Vice had hung up a lanthorn at the door; and this wilful blindness is but a copy of the wisdom of the ostrich, who thrusts his head in the sand, and then boldly exposing his tail, thinks nobody can see him because he cannot see himself. But we do see him; we do see what Mr. Burke called 'the shameful part of the Constitution,' and the only difference made by all this farcical pretension to virtue, is, that the abettors of corruption are not only hated as traitors, but laughed at as hypocrites. The more the resolution against Reform prevails in the House, the more surely will the determination to have Reform prevail out of the House. The more decided the combination against the people, the more resolute and strict should be the union of the people. We should recollect that selfishness gives a principle of adherence to our adversaries.

' Devil with devil damn'd
' Strong concord holds;'

whereas we are, as it were, to use a phrase of our worthy Chairman, 'a rope of sand,' which cannot hold together without a repeated recurrence to the cement of patriotism and public principle. And here, in exhorting you to unanimity, let me remark upon a pamphlet I hold in my hand, which contains absolute false statements, originating, no doubt, from some extraordinary misconception, and by which I am enabled to see that the worthy Major Cartwright still resolves to keep open our wounds. If there be any one here who has the ear of that Gentleman, I hope he will tell the Major that he does infinite mischief to the cause, and no little injury to his own character. As for his animadversions upon myself, I can appeal to all Westminster whether the charge of disuniting the Reformers can be applicable to me. I can ask any man whether or not I was not for three months the sole Reform candidate labouring in common with my fellow citizens, to drive the Ministerial candidate from the field. I can appeal to all Westminster whether at the nomination on the 17th of November in this room, there was the slightest movement made which would make me suppose the Major would be put forward; and yet several of his friends were present, and two of them, as I understand, acquiesced in my nomination, and promised, one on the spot, and another afterwards in writing, their co-operation. The first intimation I received of the intention of the Major's friends, was by an invitation from the BLACK DWARF, to purchase immortality at an easy rate, and to remove the crown then imagined to be upon my brows to those of the Major. My correspondent forgot that I could not transfer your suffrages from one to another, and that such an attempt on my part, merely upon his recommendation, would have covered me with confusion and ridicule. Besides which,

it would have been of no earthly use; for, after the double experiment, no man can now be mad enough to say that any recommendation whatever would have made the Major member for Westminster. And here, Gentlemen! allow me most sincerely to express my regrets that I should have been the occasion, the innocent occasion of drawing down obloquy and abuse upon 'the noblest man that ever lived in the tide of times.' I trust that I have no feelings of petty selfish ambition, which would reconcile me to having given rise to such attacks upon your Representative, merely because the same opportunity gave me so flattering a testimony of the regard of the Electors of Westminster. Gentlemen, you will all do me the credit to allow that during the Election, assailed as I was on all sides, and without any support, except that of him who indeed stood me in the place of all others, I never uttered a disrespectful word of Major Cartwright. Indeed I acted towards him as Dennis Brulgruddery behaved towards his wife. It did not become me to say any thing bad of him, and I could not say any thing good of him on that individual occasion, without telling a falsehood. But the truth is to be told, and since he presses me to tell it, I must say that there are many statements in this pamphlet which, from my personal knowledge, I can assert to be unfounded, and deduced from a presumption not warranted by fact. As the Major is not here, I will merely content myself with saying, that as to the supposed contrivance of my nomination by Sir Francis Burdett, your worthy Representative did not know that I was to be proposed until eight o'clock of the very morning of the nomination. I could assert from my own knowledge, as far as one man may presume to know another, how totally mistaken the Major is in supposing that there was originally, before the Election in 1818, the slightest disinclination on the part of Sir Francis against his being brought forward. But Sir Francis has told you this himself, and as the Major still seems inclined to doubt his attestation, of course he will pay no regard to mine.

"Gentlemen—I am truly grieved to see that the Major should appear to fancy that the whole success of the great cause in which we are engaged should depend upon the choice of any individual as member for Westminster; and I do think he would consult his own dignity better if he discontinued to hint that he believes that individual to be himself. Thank God, your cause depends upon no single man, and even if your worthy Representative were to be suddenly snatched away from you, your bitter regrets would not prevent you from seeing that the same principle which has animated him would still survive him, and find advocates, not so able, indeed, but perhaps equally persevering. Gentlemen, I would here close this unpleasant topic, and dismiss it for ever, were it not necessary that I should express my surprise that the author of this pamphlet

should give his sanction to the cry raised against me as not being sufficiently explicit as to my opinions on Reform. I was too explicit—my declaration, which I needed not to have made, furnished my adversaries with arms against me, which, if I had only said in general terms that I was for Radical Reform, they never could have been able to find. One consolation I have, that whereas my opponents at the beginning of the Election asserted I wished to curtail the suffrage—So, at the end of the Election they said I was for Universal Suffrage. That declaration laid down no absolute plan, nor do I learn that the Electors of Westminster ever wished me to give any pledge, except of agreeing with them as to the *paramount importance* of Reform. This remark brings me back to that great question, when shall we have a Reform? That which Lord Grey foretold in 1794, has unfortunately been proved by the experience of three and twenty years. ‘*The House of Commons will never reform itself.*’ When then shall we have a Reform? I will answer from a phrase used by the same nobleman in 1793. *When the people resolve for themselves there shall be a reform.* The House of Commons is at this present moment the only associated body pretending to represent the interests of others, that holds no sort of communion, or has no kind of sympathy with its presumed constituents. The Bank Directors act for and refer to the Bank stockholders. Every petty company appeals to and is directed by the persons for whose benefit they act; but the Commons House sits alone and apart—it has no sympathy—no communion with the commons—It is a body acting for and referring to itself solely—it appeals to no tribunal—when it conducts itself in conformity to the national feeling it is a mere coincidence, not a consequence; but it most usually proceeds with an avowed scorn and contempt of the general inclinations of the people. Gentlemen!—Mr. Fox proclaimed in 1798, that *this government by King, Lords, and Commons, is a government in which the power of the people is nothing.* Are times mended? Are the people stronger *now* than they were *then*? They are not. The usurpation has been strengthened—there is no such thing as a national representation—where we would look for a national representation we find nothing but a *national grievance*. And who are they that thus lord it over us—is it the King whom we have sworn to obey? no: they are those who have sworn to obey us. The tyranny under which we govern is the worst, and most disgraceful in its nature: it is the tyranny of the servant over the master—for, Gentlemen! your representatives should be your servants—they should glory in the title. But how is the case now? we hear our statesmen proud of calling themselves the servants of the crown, the servants of a single individual; but they disdain all dependence upon a great and glorious nation, whose in-

terests it should be not only their duty but their pride to promote. But we are their masters, and they shall find it so. The day will come when we shall break their unnatural bondage with as much ease

‘As Sampson his green withes.’

And let us, in the mean time, recollect in all our petitions, the words of the same great man, whose patriotism was as sublime as his poetry, that ‘a petition from the people is not the asking of a favor but the demanding of a due.’ Nor does the day now seem far distant—the bloated carcase, whose enormous size has filled a space which no healthy body could occupy, seems about to burst—the system is dissolving, it is falling to pieces on all sides; the vessel is manifestly going down; some of those aboard are scrambling to gain their own: some are breaking open the stores; and no small portion of the crew seem resolved not to see the inevitable fate that awaits them, and to die gallantly drunk. It is true, Gentlemen! that many of our goods are embarked on board this vessel: but it is equally true that we have the consolation of contemplating the tempest from the shore; the people are on dry land, and the sooner the catastrophe arrives, the better for them. It will dissipate their idle hopes; they will then count no more upon the imaginary treasures and benefits of this corrupt adventure; but will henceforward see that it is by their own exertions solely that they can obtain those advantages which God and nature intended to be the inalienable portion of every freeman.

“This speech was delivered with great animation, and received with the most enthusiastic applause.

“Toast—‘The only remedy for our grievances—a Radical Reform in the Commons’ House of Parliament.’

“Tune—‘*Kick the Rogues out.*’

“Toast—‘C. Fysche Palmer, Esq. and the Independent Electors of Reading.’

“MR. PALMER, in returning thanks for himself and for his constituents, observed that the difficulties with which the latter had to contend in following the great example of Westminster, were more than could be well imagined. They had to fight against corruption in every form; against threats, bribes, entreaties, influence; against the whole power of the ministry—a relation of one of the members of which stood forward to oppose them. The example of Westminster, however, determined them not to sacrifice honesty and independency for perfidy and corruption. They looked to that great example, as it had been exhibited in repeated struggles; they perse-

vered and they conquered. As his constituents had imitated the Electors of Westminster he would imitate their noble Representative, Sir Francis Burdett; though he was aware it must be at humble distance. He had known Sir Francis so long and so intimately in the private intercourses of life, that he knew how to estimate his worth. As he was present, however, he should not put him to the pain of hearing his own praises in this respect. But he knew, also, and the company all knew, his public worth and character; and in this point of view, the Honorable Baronet had heard so much calumny and abuse of late, that he thought he might endure to hear in turn a little honest praise and plain truth; and he must say, what every gentleman present must very well know, that the whole course of the public life of Sir Francis Burdett has been one consistent series of able and upright efforts to serve the public in the only way in which they could be effectually served, by promoting Parliamentary Reform.

"Mr. PALMER said he would follow the bright example, though he was conscious that with his feeble wing his flight must be always in humble distance. Inferior, however, in capacity, he would endeavour not to be inferior in the conscientious discharge of duty to the extent of his power; and he would engage that no vote of his should ever be given against the people. After all the efforts that had been made to enlighten the people, and the example that had been set by Westminster, he had entertained hopes of being able to congratulate the nation on the election of a new Parliament of a very different character from the last. He was afraid, however, that it was by this time but too clear that the amendment was not as much as had been expected. He was afraid the comparison could only be advantageously drawn in negatives. He did not think the present Parliament would pursue a system of terror and active persecution: that they would *suspend* the liberties of the country: pass more gagging bills, and appeal to the aid of perjured spies and dungeons; but they were not likely to promote Reform, or to do away with corruptions, sinecures, useless places, and superfluous Lords of the Admiralty. There could indeed be no good Parliament, nor any good done in Parliament, till Parliament was reformed. All Reform without Parliamentary Reform, had been sufficiently shewn to be mere evasion and pretence, talked about to day, and done away with again to-morrow. Parliamentary Reform had been long an important object in his mind. He had thought of it long and anxiously, and had declared his opinions upon it, not from ostentation, but to expound his principles to his constituents; and that they might know what it was that he pledged himself to. It was to the principle in its fullest extent, not to any precise or exclusive plan. He thought the first thing was to get a general

admission that Reform was necessary—and when all parties were brought to acknowledge that, then to consider how they could agree upon a plan among them; and not in the mean time to be quarrelling among themselves about minor points; which only diverted them from the main pursuit of their object, and by dividing them into little parties and factions, threw the game into the hands of the enemy. If ever it should please God to give us an honest or an enlightened ministry, Reform would be brought forward as a Cabinet measure: for nothing but the want of integrity and common sense prevented it now. He expressed himself highly grateful for the indulgence with which his humble efforts and observations had been attended to. He could not pretend to any recommendation to their kindness but plain integrity and good intentions; but he pledged himself to them to do every thing in his power to promote their welfare, and to bring about a Parliamentary Reform.

“ Toast—‘ Old Ireland; may equal Rights, and equal Privileges obliterate the memory of past Oppression.’

“ Mr. BETHEL returned thanks on behalf of his unhappy country. Though a stranger to their persons, he was no stranger to their sentiments and feelings. He fully participated in the patriotic views of the People of Westminster. He had been present at the last Election, and had hoped to shake hands with Mr. Hobhouse on his success. He witnessed with pain that detestable coalition; there was a lion on one part, a tiger on another; they seemed united together against the shepherd of the flock. He had witnessed all the charges and abuse used on that occasion, but he was surprised at nothing that was appealed to in support of the cause of oppression and corruption. We had, by degrees, transplanted every exotic of tyranny and abuse into our once free country. He remembered, though the Circassian might not know it, that there was a time when a slave broke his fetters merely by touching the soil. He hoped for Reform in more respects than one, and he hoped the next time he met them to see them in possession of an honest House of Commons. He would never forget the honour they had done his country, and the interest they took in her cause: which was, in fact, the cause of Liberty and Justice. Amidst the applause with which this short and animated speech was received, the music struck up the

“ Tune—‘ *Erin go Bragh.*’

“ Song—‘ *Birth of Liberty.*’

“ Toast—‘ The Friends of Liberty in Scotland, and may the speedy Reform of their Burghs lead to a Radical Reform in Parliament.’

" Song:—' Scots who hae wi' Wallace bled.'—(*Mr. Incedon.*)

" The ensuing toast having been handed by the Secretary to Mr. THELWALL, he rose and thus addressed the Company.

" Gentlemen—I feel myself gratified that the honorable lot has been assigned to me of proposing a toast with which the heart and pulse of every one present will beat responsively. 'It is 'the Liberty of the Press.' I could have wished, indeed, that so inestimable an agency might have had a more efficient representative among you. For he who has a free and extensive command in the exercise of that engine, holds in his hand the means of much efficient benefit to universal man. My share, however, in the direction of the Press is very small; but little as it is, I hope for your full confidence in the declaration that the little I have shall always be employed on the side of liberty and justice. The Press is not only a moral and intellectual instrument, it is a mean of immortality. While this is free, the virtue and the knowledge of man cannot expire. The individual atoms of personal identity indeed may perish, but the aggregate will continue to flourish:—the spirit—the immortal essence, while this is free, will remain eternal. It is a species also of representation whose suffrage is universal, and which, in a certain sense, may be said to be incorruptible. I do not mean to say that the Press cannot be used for the purposes of corruption: on the contrary it is, in a great measure, in the hands of the corrupt. For while the cupidity of mankind shall render them more emulous of luxurious gratification, and the independence, as it is called, that springs from wealth, than of principle and integrity, Corruption will never fail to find agents; and considering the general dependence which this cupidity has produced upon Whig corruption as well as Ministerial corruption—considering how the party press is patronised, and the independent press neglected, it is rather astonishing that the press should do so much good, than that it does no more. Still, however, it represents the public mind, such as it is. It gives opportunity for the display of the best as well as the worst feelings of our nature; and party itself cannot help revealing in the contest more than can be limited to the uses of party. By the clash and comparison even of the opposing frauds of faction, we are ultimately benefited; for such is the power and efficacy of truth, that one beam of its genuine and solar light, can extinguish thousands of the murky torches of falsehood and delusion. Thus does the press, in its aggregate operations, preserve a species of incorruptibility, and continue to serve the cause of truth and justice, in spite of the corruption of its individual agents. Nay it gives, in reality, to the public will, (in spite of the deplorable state of parliamentary representation), a species of legislative power. For by this, in fact, we do in a cer-

tain degree, and we must do it still more, that which the government has endeavoured to make high treason, but which I shall call salvation,—overawe even what has been called the omnipotence of Parliament. And it is by this overaweing influence of the Press alone, that Parliamentary Reform ever can be obtained. The fact of the Corruption of Parliament is already, through its influence, universally admitted; the necessity of Reform, through the same means, is, at least to the great majority out of doors, completely demonstrated. But the Press must proceed with its operations. Public information must be diffused, and public determination excited, till its manifestation shall become awful to the borough-mongering, seat-selling factions, before the sacrifices can be expected which Parliamentary Reform requires. A few individuals there may be, and a few undoubtedly there are, of transcendent patriotism, with whom public principle is more than individual interest; and the glory of being serviceable to their fellow-beings is dearer than the appendages of personal distinction. Powerful, however, must be the patriotism of those, and worthy of our most especial gratitude, who, possessing themselves the advantage of rank and opulence, having nothing to gain, join their exertions, and make common cause with us, who have comparatively nothing to lose: nothing but the determination (which, however, we will not lose) that we will not leave, without a struggle, our children less free than we ourselves were born. But it is not to be expected that the majority of those who are enjoying power, consequence, dominion, a sort of sovereign command and influence from borough-mongering property, should voluntarily relinquish them, with whatever party name they may happen to be designated. No; they must be overawed by that unanimous and enlightened determination which the Press alone can awaken and proclaim, and then, peaceably and quietly, borough-mongering oppression will submit, and Justice and Reform will triumph. I state this the more particularly, because five-and-twenty years ago, you will remember that the Government attempted to separate this little head from this little body, under the pretence that I—Goliath of Gath—Hurlo-thrumbo Giant as I am, attempted to overawe the Parliament—that is to say, to diffuse among the people a knowledge of their rights, and of the importance of Reform, which might make them too unanimous to be despised.

“But now there is another power that we must not attempt to overawe—The Bank Directors, forsooth. ‘Four and twenty Bank Directors all in a row!’ who have fiddled for themselves perhaps to some purpose, and have bullied the Minister and overawed the Government, must not themselves be overawed. A new power has arisen to bless and preserve us. Boroughmongery must hide its diminished head before Moneymongery. Downing-street must

bow down before Threadneedle; and St. Stephen's must crave licence of the Bank. We must not be surprised if the potent Senate of the Rag-shop should vote the Constitution void, and dismiss King, Lords, and Commons, as an expensive pageant, since *they* have taken our lives, properties, religion, welfare, and morals, into their keeping—nay, our common sense and understanding also.

A metaphysical standard of property has been set up by them, before which the solid substances of gold and silver are to be held nonentities. A system of metaphysical dogmatism more unintelligible than any thing that is to be found in *The Psychology* of Mr. Coleridge himself, is to be introduced into the very simplest department of political economy, and it is to be treason, or sedition at least, to question its tricksical mysteries. They have found out, and they expect us to believe, that gold and silver have no intrinsic and intelligible value in themselves, but fluctuate in solidity, durability, and all other their physical and attributive qualities as the issues of a *lying currency may require*. They will find out by and by, I suppose, that the numerals in the arithmetical tables have no fixed signification, and that the denomination four may mean six or three according as it happens to suit them in the settlement of their accounts.

In the year 1810, during the discussions of the Bullion Committee, I was myself applied to by one of the Bank Directors as a fit agent to assist in promulgating and establishing the mysteries of this new bank religion—this chaotic jargon, that a pound sterling was the standard denomination of an abstract quantity of value or property *per se*, totally independent of any given weight of gold or silver, which said gold and silver, (instead of being as the universal consent of the mercantile world, from their inherent qualities and comparative scarcity, had hitherto regarded them, the natural and proper symbols and implements by which the value of all other commodities might be ascertained and compared), were, in themselves, mere articles of merchandize, subject to perpetual fluctuations in their price, like other commodities of the market. That of this abstract *ens*—this primary creation of Parliamentary omnipotence; that moonshine promise—that strange abortion of lamp-black and rags called a bank-note, was the genuine and unchangeable representative; and that consequently gold and silver might be uncertain in their value, but the bank-note could not. Could I have made myself the mouth-piece of such a delusion, or the master rather of the show, who was to stand behind the screen and breathe their sophisms through the Parliamentary automatons of the Bank, there could have been no doubt of its being a very profitable office: but a thing called conscience prohibited such prostitution of any faculty I might possess; and I chose rather to oppose than to advocate so

mischievous a sophist. I thought it my duty in short to point out the danger into which the Bank itself might be brought, if any opponent should have the mischievous boldness and ingenuity to meet the argument as it might be met. To attack this absurdity, however, their High Mightinesses of the Bank now affected to consider as a most treasonable presumption, for the prosecution of which they have had the assurance to call upon the Government and the Attorney-General to be their tools and instruments. It is an absurdity, however, which, together with the system of fraud and delusion that has grown out of it, I trust will continue to be attacked till it shall be completely overthrown; and that only measure which can give a chance of extrication from our difficulties, an actual and unsophisticated return to cash payments shall be *bona fide* established. For the accomplishment of this, as of all other means of our salvation, we must appeal to that with which I now, as a toast, conclude, and which you, gentlemen, I make no doubt, will drink with cordial enthusiasm.

"Toast—'The Liberty of the Press—it is like the air we breathe—if we have it not, we die.'

"The toast was received with long and reiterated peals of applause.

"~~Tune—~~ *Death of Liberty?*

"Song—'How Sacred the Union.'—(Mr. Murphy.)

"Toast—'The Concentric Society of Liverpool.'

"Toast—'May no man be deprived of his Civil Rights on account of his Religious Opinions.'

"Mr. RICHARDS rose with one of Cobbett's Registers in his hand, to refute some false and calumnious charges it contained against Sir Francis Bardett; some of which he was proceeding to shew that the writer must necessarily have known to be false when he wrote them; but the company, in general, seemed indisposed to listen to the refutation of the calumnies of a man who had already lost all credit among them; and a gentleman, at the lower end of the room, rising to order, observed, that he had been desired by the gentlemen around him to say that it was not their wish to hear any thing more about Mr. Cobbett.

"Shortly after the company dispersed, with every appearance of having enjoyed the utmost gratification from the day's meeting. Indeed we do not remember ever to have known a public meeting of any description conducted throughout with more order and vivacity, or terminate with more unanimous harmony and satisfaction."

CONDUCT OF THE WHIGS.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S MOTION FOR A FUTURE INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION.

THE events of the late session of parliament have completely confirmed the predictions of the Reformers. The hopes entertained from the new House of Commons have vanished into air, into thin air. Whatever delusion was spread throughout the country respecting the advantages to be expected from the pretended recurrence to the people, we owed entirely to the Whigs. Scarcely had the elections closed; than a pompous article in their *Edinburgh Review* pronounced that the *people* had declared themselves—that *popular* sentiments had prevailed—that now was the time to mark the advantages of *popular* representation. The triumphant strain was closed with the agreeable self-congratulation, that wherever this *same people* had spoken one word for themselves, they had spoken two for the Whigs. The Fox clubs seemed to have received a new fill-up; they also held similar language: and as the Whigs were quite sure of speedily coming into place, the watchword was not to promise so freely now as they did formerly when there was no danger of the party being soon called upon to make good their professions. Nothing could exceed the activity of the party: a new leader was chosen; the old whippers-in were confirmed; a muster was resolved upon; and the principal apprehension seems to have been lest too many new adherents should put in claims for the forthcoming rewards belonging of right to the old partisans. But the muster was still to be numerically imposing; and, accordingly, above one hundred and fifty House of Commons patriots did dine together, at the Free Masons' tavern. There, amongst other resolutions, it seems to have been agreed upon, that a succession of similar, though smaller feasts should keep alive the spirit of the party, until such popular entertainments should be rendered unnecessary, and lost in the royal diversion of cabinet dinners. The above great dinner was chiefly remarkable for the toast which was *not* drunk there. It was part of the plan to say *nothing* about *Parliamentary Reform*: the Whig manifesto in the "*Edinburgh Review*" had already said, that "no such point should be made a condition *sine quâ non*;" and a subsequent manifesto in the same journal against the Reformers had, more pleasantly still, said, that *Parliamentary Reform* was a point not of too little, (as said above) but of too great importance to be made a party question of.—[See article "*Universal Suffrage*;" at-

tributed to Sir James Mackintosh: *Review for January, 1819.* At any rate nothing was to be said about the matter. The Whigs were sure of coming in. It would be only building new stone walls to talk about Reform. The indiscreet Reformers thought they might, however, as well put the gentlemen in mind of Mr. Fox's oath, sworn on the altar of his country; the oath subscribed to by all the Whigs; the oath which precluded him and them for ever from taking any place or office in any administration not founded on the basis of a Radical Reform of parliament. This and this only was the purport of the famous Report of the Committee, and of the speech of Mr. Hobhouse at the Crown and Anchor, on February 9, 1819. But the Whigs, sure as they were of coming into power, would only come in by their own door: they would not be shackled with their former professions. Nay more; they would shew the people they could, just now, do without them. They resolved on the Westminster contest; and we do know that it was said amongst them, "*If we carry the election, we shall be ministers in a fortnight afterwards.*" They knew not *how* any more than *why* they were to make this notable effort: so great was their infatuation, that they thought they would do without any help: but in their first fright, their first step was to catch at the hand kindly stretched out to them by the ministers, by those very men whom their success was to displace. They did gain the election, but they found themselves by some strange accident somewhat further from being ministers than ever. The House of Commons door-keepers tittered as they took their places, and looked at their coats to see who had been pelted the most by the people. No more party dinners; no more talking about Mr. Tierney's Bank motion, and his great financial merits. The vile Tories had seized upon all the party plans just as the Reformers had stolen the Whig papers in Mr. Lamb's committee-room. No more puffs in the Chronicle: nothing said of the "*Whigs of England.*" The first thing was to quarrel again amongst themselves, and to reprove Mr. Lambton for wishing to reprimand a gentleman honored with the friendship of Mr. Grattan. Then came motions for *abuse committees*. Then came motions for *abuse inquiries*. The government was so strong that it did not think it worth while to issue its decisive orders: there were such prodigies heard of as opposition majorities about nothing, and "*great cheering in the lobby.*" The nation cared no more for the lobby of that house, than for the lobby of the playhouse. The Criminal Law inquiry-committee was appointed: the Scotch Burgh inquiry-committee was appointed. The ministry could have no objection; the house might *inquire* as long as it pleased. The great point and query was, what will the Bank inquiry-committee do? Whilst this question seemed to have swallowed up all others; whilst the minis-

sters seemed bent upon giving the nation their wicked will of the Bank stock-holders; whilst all the inquiry was, whether the "Old Merchant" (Lord Lauderdale) of the Times, or Mr. Page of Clapham, or Mr. Peel of the House of Commons, was to be the saviour of the nation! forth steps, in a luckless hour, the almost forgotten leader of the almost forgotten opposition, and to the surprise, not only of the nation, but, we have reason to know, to the astonishment of his party, would announce his resolution to come to a pitched battle.

Such an exhibition as the Whigs made on Mr. Tierney's motion for an inquiry into the State of the Nation was never witnessed in parliament. Mr. Tierney seemed chiefly to complain that the ministers had not gone to war with America, and had not made hard terms enough with France. Poor Lord John Russell! to such degradation can party sink a respectable and truly liberal man, had nothing better to make a grievance of than that the lower classes did not pull off their hats to the gentry, ("show proper respect for their superiors.") As for Mr. William Lamb, his Whig vote was tendered with a Tory speech. Before the debate was half over, Mr. Tierney had discovered his mistake. Lord Castlereagh himself, when compared with a Whig leader, was completely triumphant. The speech of Sir Francis Burdett, as it spoke the sentiments of the whole nation, so it was the only one which commanded the respect and the tacit acquiescence of the whole house: the comparison between him and the Whigs on that occasion completed the debasement of the party; and when they were down, Mr. Canning resolved not to lose so tempting an opportunity of rolling them in the mire. This gentleman, whose jokes have not been in season since his famous "revered and ruptured speech," recovered his long-lost tone; and, when he attacked nothing but a wretched Whig, his pleasantry was once more encouraged and approved. Then it was that the Westminster election *told*. Then it was that the Whigs were exposed, for the amusement of the house, and to the scorn of the country, as miserable pretenders to popularity which they did not possess, as mean boasters of favor for which they had in the face of the metropolis been the despised and rejected suitors.

Mr. Canning said, "he should have thought they would not so soon have forgot the Westminster election. He had in his time faced popular election, and it was not impossible he might do so again. But he had never been obliged to go home accompanied by a file of grenadiers.—(*A laugh.*) His retreat had been effected with somewhat more safety than this *essence of popularity*; this routed cavalcade; (*laugh*)—this assemblage of ribbons and rubbish; with laurel at their heads and brickbats at their tails, (*laughter*) who

"were rescued from their overpowering popularity by his majesty's horse-guards."—(Laugh.)

This, one should think, was quite enough for one night; but, no! Mr. Tierney was to flounder still lower; his reply to these sarcasms was such as a Westminster Reformer, had he wished to make the party completely ridiculous, would have dictated. Mr. Tierney made a scurvy comparison between Sir Samuel Romilly's popular chairing and Mr. Lamb's no chairing: he owned what the Whigs had denied at the hustings, that they had been *encumbered by the help of the Tories*, and to that circumstance he imputed the whole discredit into which the "buff and blue" emblems had fallen in Westminster. Mr. Tierney closed the debate in the commons; but not with us: we will have the last word with him. We say, that Sir Samuel Romilly's chairing was, as far as the people were concerned, as mournful a chairing as ever was seen in Westminster. It is not true, as Mr. Tierney said, that "all was shouts and gladness;" there were no shouts. What applause Sir Samuel got was all his own; the party did not come in for a single huzza. We say, that Sir Samuel Romilly was encumbered with the help of 2,300 Maxwellite voters. And it will be hardly necessary to add here, that if Mr. Lamb had not *been encumbered* with the *one thousand and seventy one* dead government votes, he would neither have won nor wanted a chairing.

We pray that in this manner may end all combinations against the people; may the conspirators quarrel and expose each other mutually; may those who get the plunder keep it from those who want it, and laugh at them for expecting a share!

The fate of this motion decided the fate of the party—from that moment they seem to have begun to disperse—their insignificance was more distinctly seen from their total defeat. They produced no more effect with their 167, than as if they had not had a man in the House. Since that period most of the inquiring committees reported that they had done nothing. Whole cart-loads of acts of Parliament passed nightly through the House. The nation read the dull debates with indifference, except when a reporter was bullied for not copying their nonsense quick enough, and then some newspapers threatened not to give the debates at all. The People looked on as they would through a telescope at something stirring in the stars—it was nothing to them. This they would say of all the pretended efforts in their favor. The party in power took care indeed not to leave them so indifferent to their movements. *Three millions of fresh taxes* was what the nation gained by the last session of Parliament; so low were the Whigs sunk, that their partial and desultory opposition to these taxes, gained them no credit whatever—the nation knew the motive and thanked them not.

But lest any possible mistake should arise—lest the party should retain the slightest hold over the People, they had still to make an attack upon the Reformers in Parliament, as they had done upon the Reformers in Westminster. It is true, that there was found a restive oppositionist or two, who, when all hopes of the present House of Commons turning out to be a Whig House of Commons had been completely dissipated, began to discover that the fault must lie with the misconstruction of that body. Mr. Coke now found out that this House of Commons was as corrupt as the last House of Commons. He said “it was a corrupt House, from which he expected no good.” Lord Tavistock also declared that *painful as it was to him to differ from his friends*, he must confess that *this House held no sympathy whatever with the People.*”

But it was seen, and seen with grief, by the many admirers of that excellent young man, that his Lordship found it so painful to differ with his friends, that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of a reconciliation, at the expense of the Radical Reformers. Finding that the Whigs would do nothing towards that Reform, which they once seceded from Parliament to obtain by irritating the People to act on the prudence of the House, Sir Francis Burdett resolved not to let the session close without giving them an opportunity to declare their sentiments, and without shewing the country that he was still at his post. That no man might have an excuse for not lending his aid under pretence of the motion being too violent, and the plan too impracticable, Sir Francis resolved that he would confine himself to the general argument, and move merely that the House would take the question of Reform into consideration early in the next session. His speech was such as may be truly called a master-piece of temperate and persuasive eloquence. As no reply whatever was attempted to any one of his arguments, it would be a waste of words to make any other comment on the debate than such as may farther illustrate the conduct of the Two Factions. The ministers sat slumbering on their benches or smiling on the Gentlemen opposite. The poor creature, who spoke from their side, talked such nonsense, that they shifted away from him, and left him to help the Whigs alone. We say, to help the WHIGS, for to their shame must be told that which the daily press seems to have overlooked, that the only opposition to the motion came from them. For, in the first place, the Marquis of Tavistock, THE WHIG, struck a blow rather out of time and place, at Sir Francis Burdett wishing, as it were, to anticipate him, by preventing, and speaking upon the Liverpool petition. Mr. Brougham, now THE WHIG, begged the House to observe that the Liverpool petition was *not* for General Reform. This was left out in all the Papers—but say it he did—why, is easily seen. Mr. Grenfell, THE WHIG,

moved the orders of the day. Lord John Russell, THE WHIG, asserted, in no very moderate tone, *that he would not cast a slur on the present state of the representation*: that he, therefore, totally dissented from Sir Francis Burdett—and that he, therefore, should vote *against* the motion—and *he did* vote against the motion.—This is the Gentleman whom Mr. Wishart wanted to make Member for Westminster! MR. TIERNEY, THE WHIG LEADER, who a month ago had said, he was as much for Reform as ever, did not think it worth while to come down and vote for a promise, that some inquiry should be made. Out of 167 who voted to turn out the Ministers, only 58 voted for any sort of Reform.

We have just seen what exploit the Gentleman whom the Whigs wanted to make Member for Westminster, performed on this occasion; let us now see what the Gentleman whom the Whigs and their coadjutors did make Member for Westminster, was willing to do for his constituents and his countrymen.

It may have been remarked that Sir Francis Burdett in his vulgar and candid manner, said a civil thing of Mr. Lamb's parliamentary conduct, previously to this debate. Now it was evidently arranged that the new member should take a decisive line; partly for his party, and partly for himself. Mr. Lamb was put into Mr. Fox's place on the opposition bench; and no small expectation was excited in the gallery when he first arose. It is true, that the House, already familiar with the charms of his oratory, seemed less curious, or perhaps wasted away, like a candle, before the glare of his glowing periods. A Member for Westminster, take what side he will, should be able to keep the audience together—especially since Mr. Lamb had promised his friends and the public, that he should be better heard in the House than at the hustings. The party, no doubt, thought it a master stroke, to direct Mr. Lamb to second the motion, if not too violent; but that these Gentlemen enjoined him to indulge in a tasteless and spiritless banter on his Colleague's speech, we think is imputing rather too much even to the Whigs. We give this performance, such as it appeared in the Times.

Mr. G. LAMB felt considerable satisfaction at finding that the terms of the motion would comprehend all those who entertained views friendly to Reform, whatever differences on some points might prevail amongst them. He did not rise to follow the Honorable Baronet through the whole course of his argument, because he did not think his most eloquent or happy passages were connected with the points of difference to which he had alluded. As he dissented, however, from those doctrines which had been supported at other times by the Honorable Baronet, he felt that it behoved him to be more specific in drawing a line between himself and those doctrines. Whatever might have been the march of

Reform, of which they had heard so much—and he was strongly inclined to think that since the Honorable Baronet and his coadjutors had placed themselves at its head, that march had been little more than what was in military language called marking time, an act which consisted in making much dust and no progress, or rather in a retrograde motion.—(*A laugh.*) His persuasion still was, that the first step of the progress must be, to put down convicted bribery and corruption.—(*Hear, hear!*) The Honorable Baronet had that night rejoiced at the late developments of corruption in different boroughs; yet, at the beginning of the session, he had understood that such circumstances were below the notice of a Radical Reformer. The House certainly had not had the Honorable Baronet's assistance in prosecuting those investigations; but whilst they desiderated his presence, it was impossible to doubt that he had spent his days, and "consumed the midnight oil," in maturing his views, and that the fruit of his labours was the Resolution before the House. With respect to his own opinions upon the subject of Reform, he should wish to see, in the first place, the elective franchise removed from boroughs whose corruptions had been exposed, and from others of limited extent, to large and populous towns. He regarded the abuse of that franchise in the same light in which he should view the abuse of any other constitutional function. The House would not do its duty, if it left power in the hands of those whose delinquency had been proved. Thus far would he go in the improvement of the Borough Representation: but the shortening of the duration of Parliament appeared to him to be a measure that would have a salutary effect in identifying the feelings of the Constituent and the Representative; it would serve to raise the House in the public estimation, and to put an end to that difference which had been so often observed in their conduct at the beginning and at the close of a Parliament. The frequent recurrence of Elections, which was much dreaded by many persons in that House, he thought would be highly beneficial. He considered the noise and tumult of a popular Election an excellent ordeal for a Candidate to go through.—(*A laugh from the Ministerial side.*) He knew the meaning of the laugh from the gentlemen opposite, but still he must declare his preference of Triennial Parliaments and mud-bespattered Candidates, as a Right Honorable Gentleman (Mr. Canning) had on a former occasion described him. The Right Honorable Gentleman, perhaps, might not be ignorant of such a thing existing; and if it were recurring frequently, it would not be improper that a member should have such a memento of the resentment of his constituents. He did not consider Reform to be that grand panacea which the Honorable Baronet seemed to think it. He knew the People had been taught to believe that Reform comprised all that was worth gaining; that it would make provisions cheap, and reduce the expense of law proceedings; in short, that it would enable us, as Fortescue said, "to wear woollen clothes, and drink no water."—(*A laugh.*) He certainly did not anticipate such consequences from Parliamentary Reform; but at the same time he believed it would have the good effect of giving the people what in his opinion (and he was sorry to say it) they did not at present possess—reliance on their rulers. He had addressed the House in this

early stage of the debate, because there was much in the Honorable Baronet's speech that he approved of, and because he thought the best way of attaining the object in view was to unite the friends of Reform. He knew he had prescribed to himself a difficult task, which, nevertheless, he hoped he had executed in an intelligible manner—namely, to draw between himself and the Radical Reformers a wider distinction than existed between any other two classes of politicians. Whatever reception the present proposition might meet with, he must consider that House the true Representative of the People, and the third branch of the Legislature; and he should be sorry if, in the hurry and heat of debate, he had uttered any remark derogatory from the respect which he should ever entertain for that House.

We have already disposed of the decent attack on Sir Francis Burdett, made by a parliamentary boy, whom their late conflict should have made shy of assaulting Sir Francis unnecessarily. The jokes are worthy of the gentleman who told the Electors of Westminster that they should "*find him a glutton*." We will let them alone to please those whom they made to *laugh* either at him or them. But we have a word to say to Mr. Lamb respecting his Hustings' professions and his House of Commons' promises.

The reader will have seen that Mr. Lamb and his Committee repeatedly, in the early part of the Election, pledged themselves to Reform—and explicitly to *extending the suffrage to all householders*—he will still more distinctly have seen that Mr. Lamb stood on the Hustings as a representative of the opinions of Mr. Fox. The Chronicle distinctly said so—Mr. Lamb said so more than once.

Now Mr. Lamb says that "*his wish is to see, in the first place, the elective franchise removed from boroughs whose corruptions had been exposed, and from others of limited extent to large and populous towns*." What Reform is this? it is the modern Whig Reform—the support of hypocrisy—the cry for partial proof when the general evil is notorious—the indefinite phrase, "*others of limited extent*," is a true Whig phrase—it may take in the great Whig boroughs or not, just as Mr. Lamb chooses to interpret the words. But this Reform is *not the Reform* which Mr. Lamb pledged himself on the Hustings to support—it is *not* "the extension of the suffrage to all householders." We ask, as we did during the Election—"is he ignorant, or is he false?"

But Mr. Lamb swore he was the follower and the disciple of Fox—he here says that he "*does not consider Reform the grand panacea*"—he here says that he *wishes to draw, and hopes that he, has "drawn between himself and the Radical Reformers a wider distinction than existed between any other two classes of politicians."* We have quoted and requoted Mr. Fox's positive assertions, that he *did* "consider Reform as the panacea"—we have

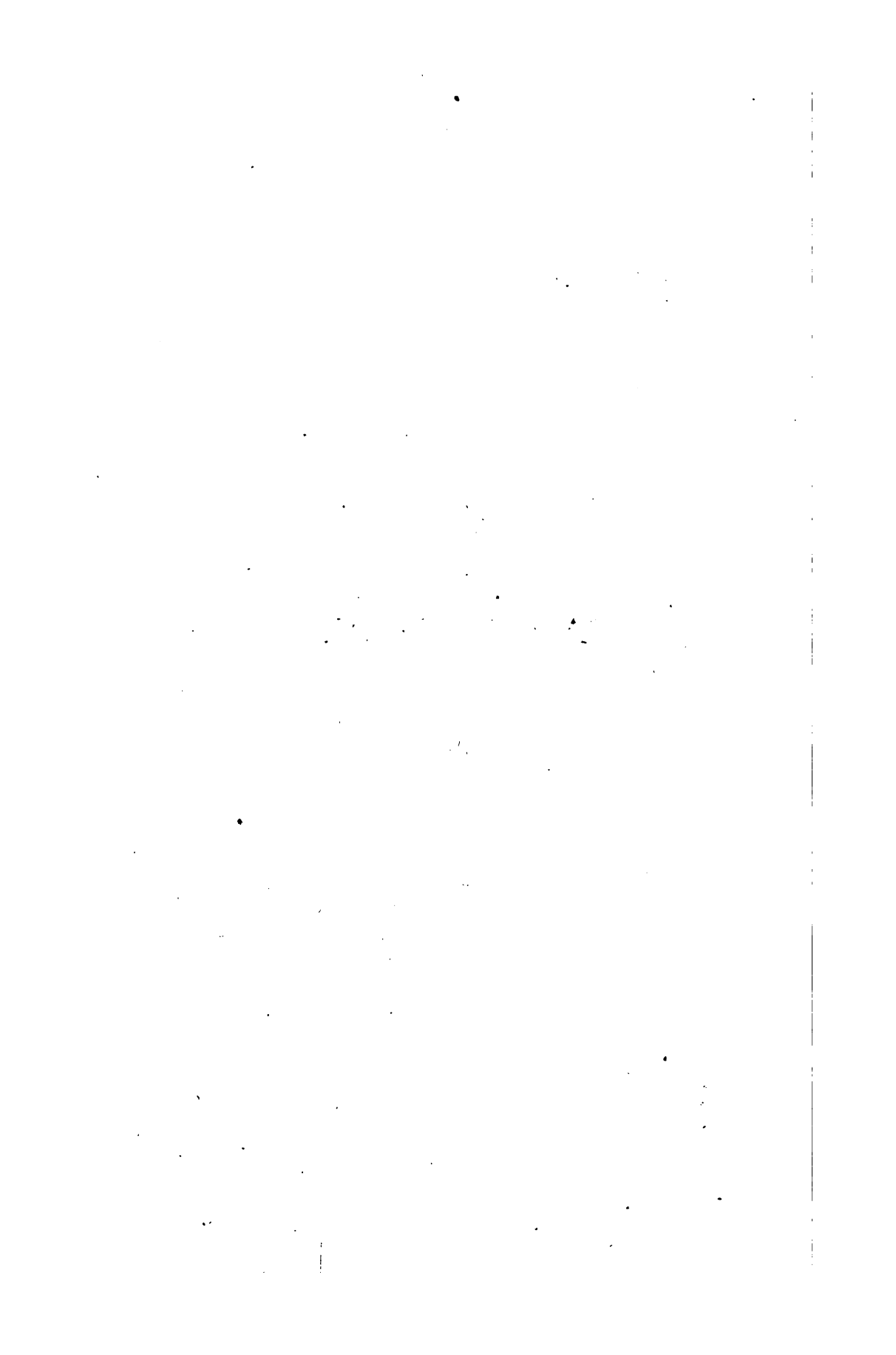
shewn that Mr. Fox was the very inventor of the phrase, *radical Reform*—and we here add, that so far from wishing to draw the widest possible distinction between himself and the advocates even of Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments, Mr. Fox on one occasion signed his name, as Chairman to the Westminster Subcommittee, in favor of Annual Parliaments; and said in his place, when Secretary of State in 1789, that he thought the Duke of Richmond the best man to draw up a plan of Reform. Lord Grey also said in 1797, that “he thought the plan for Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage better than the present system.” The most glorious and bold departure from Mr. Fox and Mr. Fox’s Whigs, by this disciple of Mr. Fox, who gloried in being a Whig at the Hustings, is, however, contained in his concluding expression, that “*he must consider that House as the true Representative of the People, and the third branch of the legislature; and he should be sorry if, in the hurry and heat of debate, he had uttered any remark derogatory from the respect which he should ever entertain for that House.*” We easily believe Mr. Lamb to be a very ignorant young man, who, to use one of his own Drury-lane phrases, has “*been got up in a hurry,*” and is scarcely responsible for the part he is directed to play; but he surely must know that Mr. Fox repeatedly exerted all his tremendous powers to overthrow the said third branch of the legislature, and declared, that in this “*true representative of the people,*” the *power of the People is nothing*. [See his speech, January 4, 1798.] As for Mr. Lamb’s “*respect for the House,*” he uttered this vulgar common-place phrase merely to separate himself as much as possible, or, as he says, to draw as wide a line of distinction as possible between himself and even the more popular Whigs, Mr. Coke and Lord Tavistock, the first of whom called it a “*corrupt,*” and the other a “*borough-mongering*” House of Commons.

In his eagerness to disclaim all sympathy with Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Lamb forgot that he might run some chance of differing with himself—he forgot that he had stood on the Westminster Hustings as a Radical Reforming Foxite Whig, and not as a moderate or Anti-radical Reforming Tierneyite Whig; or, it is probable, that he did not know that Mr. Fox’s Reform and his Whig Reform, was a decidedly radical and anti-moderate Reform in every sense of the two words. We repeat, he “*was got up in a hurry;*” if he is to be brought out again next season, we trust it will be with “*new decorations and considerable improvements, under the direction of the stage manager.*” The swagger and bully which we believe, however, to be more in his manner than his mind, will not do even in Parliament; and we suspect his pleasantries on Sir Francis were relished as little in the House as they were at the Hustings. The

gentleman perhaps, may wish a second time to postpone his hour of pleasing—if so, we have little doubt the Electors of Westminster will take the first opportunity of helping them to another audience. So much for the Whig member for Westminster, and for the special care taken that not even the Whig seconder of Sir Francis Burdett's motion should have the least appearance of joining in the "popular clamour" for radical Reform. And yet we do not wish to conclude, without reminding the Whigs that the people will have great joy over their repentance—and surely there must be many amongst them tired of their insignificance and ashamed of their disgrace. If they will not hear us, perhaps they will accept the advice of a coadjutor, who has become a recruit too recently altogether to understand what they would be at, or perhaps to know what he would be at himself—and who, in his endeavours to please every body, has pleased nobody, and may lose his seat into the bargain. Sir Robert Wilson said, though the Chronicle did not report what he said:—

"He trusted that the economists, (as he denominated the Whigs,) had been taught wisdom by the results of their efforts in the present Parliament—by their useless endeavours for retrenchment—by their fruitless motions on the Admiralty, the Ordnance, and the Foreign Department. After his Honorable Friend (Mr. C. Hutchinson) had been unable to wrest a single snuff-box from the Chancellor of the Exchequer—(A laugh)—After the forces of those with whom he had acted had been defeated with total loss, and shattered to pieces, so that they had with difficulty formed a rear guard to protect their remains from the conquerors—(Laughter)—he hoped the economists would see the prudence of advancing in parallel lines with the Reformers."

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

REPEATED allusion has been made in the course of the preceding account to the disfranchisement of the Electors by the arbitrary decisions of the High Bailiff, who pronounced judgment solely upon the information received from the Rate Collectors. These Rate Collectors being inspectors paid by Mr. Lamb, it was to be expected that they would act for Mr. Lamb; and it was the undoubted duty of the High Bailiff to hesitate before he attended to evidence which he must have known not to be disinterested.

There are many reasons which must forcibly demonstrate the injustice, and indeed we may say, the absurdity, of leaving such a discretionary power in the hands of the Returning Officer.

In the first place,—The Rate Collectors in most of the Parishes are connected, in one way or the other, with the parochial government, and generally speaking, are part of the great tax system, by which, in a thousand slender ramifications, the People of England, like Gulliver by the hairs of the Lilliputians, are tied down and kept down. The Collectors are seldom independent themselves; and, what is worse, they are thoroughly acquainted with the individual wants and wishes of all those whose poverty has made, or may make, them dependent. The Candidate, then, who has secured the Rate Collectors, has secured a powerful engine—even were he only in possession of the key to the individual circumstances of the Electors.

In the second place,—The Rate Collector, according to the present system, supposing him dishonest, may wink at the non-payment of rates by those whom he chooses to favor; and, supposing him honest, he has still diverse opportunities by keeping out of the way of some Electors, and taking care to apply to others, to make certain votes good, and other votes bad. During the last Election, a Collector, whose name need not be mentioned, sent round every night to those in Mr. Lamb's interest; and omitted sending to those whom he suspected intended polling for Mr. Hobhouse. This was affording facilities to the one, and putting obstacles in the way of the other, such as no individual, and especially no individual connected with the Government, should possess at any election. It appears that there is no uniform rule for the period up to which the parish taxes are required: it appears also, that when the rule is stated, it is stated just before, or during the Election—the voters do not all

know the time prescribed—some come with their rates up to this period—others to another date—one Collector will take the money at the hustings—the other will not. On some occasions, the voter, when once disallowed and taken round to the High Bailiff, is struck off without appeal—in other instances he is told to come again. Add to this the inclination to admit certain Electors, whom usage, so say the *paid* Collectors, has allowed to vote without payment, they being rated without payment; this was the case with certain Church Dignitaries during the last Election; and it need not be added, that these gentry always go against the popular candidate.

In the third place,—The present system admits of all sorts of tricks and manœuvres at the poll. The Collectors have, from their local knowledge, a tolerably accurate acquaintance with the manner in which an Elector when he comes up will vote. If they know him to be favourable to the side for which they inspect, they make no remarks—if otherwise, every cavil is frequently employed to obstruct and gain time; so much so, that the Committee of Reformers at both the last Elections was obliged to advise the Electors to make no demonstration either in the parishes or at the hustings, of the way in which they should vote, but proceed quietly to the hustings, and keep their intention concealed to the last moment. Upwards of 150 pretended Electors were polled in one day for Sir Murray Maxwell—they had never been rated—the Collector being inspector for Sir Murray, said nothing. A squadron of a similar sort, and about the same number, was coming up the next day; fortunately, an Elector belonging to the Reform Committee happened to be personally acquainted with their incompetency: he was inspector the next day, and objected to every vote—the case was so flagrant that they were all disallowed. This will serve to show that intrusting so much power to persons who are so exceedingly partial, must have a fatal influence over the freedom of Election. If the Collectors will suffer those who have no votes to poll for their own party, it follows that they will impede those who have votes from polling against their own party.

In the fourth place,—There is no proper check upon the Collectors; for they alone can know the real state under which each Elector presents himself at the hustings. They alone have the books. Copies of their books are not allowed in evidence; in cases of change of residence they frequently keep the name of the former occupier on the rate, if it serves their purpose. There are many trifling circumstances which may enable him to reject a tender of the rate from the new occupier, who, upon coming to poll, knows not whether he has a vote or not: all he knows is that it depends on the good pleasure of the Collector. This circumstance influences many Electors, for it is very natural that a man should prefer voting for a party where he is sure to have his vote allowed, than where he is sure to have his vote contested. It is impossible that the volunteer inspectors of the popular Candidate should be in possession of such a number of merely *oral* facts, as may enable them to stand as a corrective against *written* documents; consequently for want of better means of

precaution, they are forced to make objections upon the report of canvassers, and have thus sometimes obstructed the polling of even their own friends.

To give a power of disfranchising to the High Bailiff when that officer acts solely upon the information of *ex-parte* evidence, is contrary to every maxim of law and reason; and the natural conclusion is, that it was never intended that the first consequence of non-payment of rates should be disfranchisement, seeing that that non-payment may not arise from any actual fault or defalcation of the Elector, but from the malice and cunning of the Collector; and seeing that even if it does arise from actual incapacity to pay in money, the first remedy of the Collector should be to distrain. We have, in fact, reason to know that of the many hundreds disfranchised at the last Election, there was not one who, upon distraint, could not have satisfied the demand; indeed very many were individuals in good circumstances, who had sought and could not find an opportunity of paying their arrears. According to the present system, the Returning Officer, by his *sole dictum*, determines what gives the Elective Franchise in Westminster; or, what is worse, he, by his sole dictum, determines in what manner he shall apply a rule of his own to a case of his own; or, at best, a case made out for him by partial and influenced evidence. It would be better for the popular cause in Westminster if some *unjust* but *invariable* rule were established, than that there should be only a chance of justice left by an appeal to a variable authority. There are as many votes lost by the doubt and delay as by the actual denial. We have selected an individual case for the inspection of the reader, not because it is in itself worse than many hundreds which occurred, but because it has been made the subject of legal investigation. The case of Mr. Martin will serve to show that the High Bailiff refused a vote, which was to all intents and purposes a good vote. It will show that he took the word of the Collector, without any further proof, as the sole rule for his conduct. It will show that when a Collector said he had called for the rate but did not receive it, the Elector might deny the assertion, but would deny it in vain; and equally fruitless would be his assertion, that, had the Collector called, the money would have been paid; his tender of the money would be no less in vain. In either and in all of these circumstances, an Elector, duly rated, and paying rates when demanded, was disfranchised because the High Bailiff so willed it. The decision of the Magistrates goes, it will be seen, directly to contradict that of the High Bailiff, and we entertain no doubt whatever that an action will lie against that Officer at common law. We understand, indeed, that another case is to come before the Court of King's Bench, and, if necessary, will be pushed to a still higher tribunal.

CASE OF MR. MARTIN.

MR. ROBERT MARTIN commenced tenant at Lady-day, 1818, of the house No. 67, Davies-street, Grosvenor-square. John Leeson, of 41 Davies-street, Collector of the poor's-rate, soon afterwards called for payment of an arrear of three years due from one Hammond, the preceding tenant. Mr. Martin then informed the Collector of the time of the commencement of his own tenancy, and said that he would pay from that period. At the general election in June, 1818, he went up with others and polled for Sir Francis Burdett only; Leeson, the Collector, being on the hustings at the time, as inspector for Sir Murray Maxwell.

A short time previous to the last election, Mr. Martin, having learnt that the High Bailiff and the poor's-rate collectors had, during the former election, objected to the votes of some persons who were in arrears for poor's-rate, had the precaution to take a witness with him, and called on Leeson to pay his rates: he waited till Leeson, who was in bed, got up; and, in the presence of his witness, said, that he was come to pay his poor's-rate. Leeson replied, that he might be damned, and his witness too; and peremptorily refused to receive the money.

Mr. Martin afterwards attended to vote for Mr. Hobhouse, when Leeson, the Collector, ~~who was then inspector for Mr. Lamb,~~ objected to his vote, on the ground that Mr. Martin's name was not inserted in the rate-book, and on that ground alone the High Bailiff disallowed his vote.

After the close of the election however, Leeson, the Collector, applied to Marlborough-street police-office, and obtained a summons from two magistrates for Mr. Martin, to shew cause why he refused and neglected to pay 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, being the amount of four quarters (from Lady-day, 1818, to Lady-day, 1819) poor, highway, watch and paving-rate, assessed upon him in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square.

On the 29th June last, Mr. Hayward attended for Mr. Martin, and stated the particulars of the case, and the general conduct of the collectors at the two last elections, to the sitting magistrates, Robert Baker and _____, Esquires; and contended, that as Leeson had objected at the hustings to Mr. Martin's vote, on the ground of his not being rated or assessed, he could not now be liable to the payment of that year's assessment: in which opinion the magistrates concurred, and accordingly dismissed the summons.

At the above hearing, Mr. Martin and his witness swore positively to the tender made to Leeson, the Collector, and his refusal to receive it, without giving any reason whatever for his so doing; and on Leeson being questioned by the Magistrates on the subject, he stated that he did give a reason for the refusal, which was, that by the local Act of Parliament for St. George's parish, he was

entitled to demand payment for the accruing quarter as well as for the arrears; but this statement was by Mr. Martin and his witness most positively denied.

On the 27th of July last, Leeson, however, obtained another summons for the same purpose from the same Police Office; and on Mr. Hayward's attending it on the 3rd of August, he objected to the Magistrates proceeding again on the same business, after a similar summons had been proceeded on and discharged; but the then sitting Magistrates, Robert Baker and Henry Moreton Dyer, Esquires, overruled the objection. [Mr. Baker giving as a reason, that on the former hearing he was not aware of the provision in the Stat. 17 Geo. II. cap. xxxviii. sect. 12, which rendered the person occupying liable to the payment of the rates, although his name was not in the original assessment.]

It was then contended on Mr. Martin's behalf, that it would be the height of injustice to grant a distress warrant (the remedy sought) to enforce payment of the first two quarters, which even by the Collector's own admission, had been tendered and refused; and that although he might be authorised to demand payment of an accruing quarter, he was not justified in refusing to receive what was actually due, independent of the improbability of the Collector's story, and the contradiction given to it; and the Collector upon being asked by Mr. Baker how he would take the warrant, whether for the whole year, or the two last quarters, replied, that he would leave it entirely to the Magistrates; and it was settled that he should consult the Vestry (by whose orders he said he now attended) farther on the subject, and the parties agreed to meet again at one o'clock on Tuesday the 10th August.

The parties attended again on the last mentioned day, and Leeson the Collector stated, that he should not ask the Magistrates for any order in particular, but should leave the business entirely in their hands; when the Magistrates, Mr. Baker and Mr. Dyer, decided, that as Mr. Martin had actually tendered to Leeson the amount of the half year from Lady-day to Michaelmas, he could not have a distress warrant for neglecting and refusing to pay it, and accordingly dismissed the complaint with costs; upon which Mr. Martin immediately paid down the amount of the half year from Michaelmas to Lady-day, and stated his determination to punish the Collector if possible, for his refusal to take the first half year when tendered prior to the Election, since it was in consequence of that illegal refusal that the High Bailiff had presumed to disfranchise him.

No. II.

THE BLUDGEON-HIRING.

A VEREMENT protestation of innocence and a secret consciousness of guilt are old companions. The Whigs, however, have improved on this connexion, by adding another ally—the crimination of others for offences which they knew they have committed themselves. The managers of Mr. Lamb's election, and Mr. Lamb himself, complained of an *organized* interruption directed against himself and against his voters. They had themselves previously hired several hundred bludgeon-men, as has been already recorded in the account of the election. The Reformers exposed their practices. Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett denounced them from the hustings. But the Whigs positively denied all knowledge of such transactions, and persevered in their charge against the Reformers. The 600 hired bludgeon-men, and the horsemen of the Whigs, notoriously commenced the affray at the close of the election. The Whigs in the Chronicle, and Mr. Lamb in his last address, still positively denied all knowledge of such hiring, and as positively charged the disturbance upon the Reformers, and upon the speeches of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse. The latter gentleman again repelled the falsehood, and, together with the committee of Reformers, again asserted the fact, now notorious to the whole metropolis, namely, that the Whigs had hired the bludgeon-men, and that to the ruffians so hired, and to the buff and blue horsemen, was to be imputed the origin of the whole affray. The Chronicle did not venture an explicit answer, but still insinuated that the Whigs had *not hired* any such individuals.

A few days after the close of the election, summonses were granted by the court of requests against one Bond, a Bow-street officer, for the amount of certain sums which he had agreed to pay certain individuals for specified services. The complainants swore that they, and many others, had been hired by Bond, at five shillings a-day, *to hiss and hoot, and make as much noise as possible, when Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse were speaking, and to hum as loudly as possible when Mr. Lamb was speaking.** The court allowed the demand, and ordered Bond to pay the money.

* See the Times newspaper, 19th March, 1819, for the details.

Men of no more than ordinary assurance would have been happy to let the matter, as far as they were concerned, drop here. They would have been happy to let it be thought possible that Bond had not acted from their orders; but the Whigs are bolder men; they resolved still to find an opportunity of denying their own guilt, and of criminating the innocent. Their non-payment of those whom they had hired was running a risk of discovery, which, letting alone the meanness of it, none would have hazarded but themselves. The expedient they adopted was a notable one. By the ancient institutions of this country, all the individuals of a hundred were supposed to be interested in the defence of that hundred, and the maintenance of the peace. By the same institutions, all the individuals are commanded to have the means of defence always ready; that is to say, are commanded to be furnished with arms for individual and mutual protection. Nothing could be more just than that when provided with such means, the *hundreders* should be responsible for their inactivity whenever they failed to employ them in preserving the peace, which they were also commanded to keep, and were made responsible for neglecting so to do, by payment out of their own pockets for the damage which might be incurred by their neglect.

Nothing can be more unjust than that when such means are taken away by one act of parliament, they should still be supposed in existence, and the non-employment of them punished by another act of parliament; yet such was the injustice committed by the framers of an act, which, amongst many other blessings, we owe to the Whigs. We mean the riot act: one of the clauses of which still makes the hundreders liable for damages committed during a breach of the peace, and grants an action against any two individuals of the hundred whom the plaintiff may please to select for the recovery of damages and costs. The Whig masters of the country had before taken pretty good care to keep down the disaffected; and the possession of arms by each householder, formerly a part of the law of the land, was now nothing but a fiction, employed as a pretext for exactions, and converted from the real defence into the actual spoliation of the people.

The Westminster Whigs then, having hired a gang to attack the people, and having thus in effect broken their own windows, resolved to make the people pay for what they, the Whigs, had done; and to this end they find a Whig act of parliament just suited to their purposes. They determine to prosecute the hundred. This simple prosecution would have satisfied some people; but the Whigs would do more; their object was to renew their false charge on the Reformers, and to throw the whole blame of the breaches of the peace on their political antagonists. For this purpose, they selected Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Place from the other hundreders; so that the action might, in appearance, to those who knew neither the fact nor the law, seem to hint, that the breaking of the windows at the close of the election was fairly traceable to the conduct of those two individuals and the committee of Reformers. That such was the intention there can be no doubt whatever: and the denial

of that intention by Mr. Scarlett, the counsel for the plaintiffs, was no less ridiculous than the confirmation of that denial by the lord chief justice, who knew nothing about the matter, was altogether gratuitous. In fact, the Whigs now boasted that they had selected these two gentlemen, because they had both asserted, "that the Whigs had hired a mob, and they wished to give them an opportunity of proving the truth of so scandalous an assertion." From this motive to the throwing the rioting on the Reformers, the consequence is immediate and inevitable; if the Whigs showed that the Reformers could not prove the hiring on them, the deduction was, that the rioting commenced with the people, instigated, of course, by the Reformers. We think we need say no more on Mr. Scarlett's assertion. As to "the scandalous assertion of the Reformers," we have already brought the hiring to Bond. The Whigs knew this. They knew they had hired Bond, and they had also, or might have had, tolerably certain evidence, that the Reformers were acquainted with this fact. In truth, the Reformers were minutely aware of every detail. Some of the hired men, from regret, and others, out of anger at not being paid, had given voluntary evidence to the Reformers; and, besides these means of detection, it appears; that when the bludgeon-men were driven back by the people into Mr. Lamb's central committee-house, the papers of the said honest working committee were dispersed, and some of them snatched up by some one who conveyed them to the Reformers, and thus furnished whatever proof might have been wanting of the fact so strenuously denied by the Whigs. But the letter from Bond to Macdonald was not part of the papers so dispersed. The infatuation with which they dared the Reformers to this proof, is hardly to be accounted for on any common principles. But dare them they did, by these actions, seven of which were brought against Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Place, as persons who had hazarded so scandalous an assertion.

It is fit to observe in this place, that the Whigs, by bringing the actions, did not, however, give so very fair an occasion, as they protested, to afford the Reformers the means of inculpating them; for those at all acquainted with the law, will at once perceive, that there was scarcely any chance of nonsuiting the plaintiffs. The windows had been broken; the hundred was, on the first view of the case, undoubtedly liable; and nothing but the direct proof that the plaintiffs had themselves hired a mob, which had occasioned the breaking of their own windows, could procure a verdict for the defendants. That the Whigs were perfectly well aware of this difficulty, which was only a legal difficulty, was seen by the line adopted by their counsel, Scarlett, who did his utmost to prevent the connexion between the actual plaintiff in the first case, *Wishart*, and the confessed hirers, being proved. When, in the course of the trial, it came out that Mr. Macdonald, the chairman of Mr. Lamb's central committee, had been the very person who had hired Bond; when that gentleman was forced to own that fact, the remaining step was necessarily to prevent Mr. Wishart from being implicated in the transactions of Mr. Macdonald. That Mr. Wishart had been an active partisan and attendant upon Mr. Lamb's

committee-room, there was abundant evidence; but here Mr. Macdonald, having owned that he had employed Bond to hire ruffians, resolved to help off his friend Mr. Wishart from any participation in that dirty transaction; this he did, by taking the whole offence upon himself; and, moreover, by the most extraordinary of all assertions, that *the Whigs had no regular committee*. The readers of the first trial, *Jewell versus Belshaw*, will observe, that even Mr. Scarlett himself had designated Jewell's house as that "*where Mr. Lamb's central committee was held*." To be sure, Counsel Scarlett could hardly know that the Whigs would think of setting up such a pretext as that resorted to by Mr. Macdonald. The Whig advertisements were all dated from "*Mr. Lamb's committee-room*." The words "*Committee-Room*" were placarded over Jewell's house, in Henrietta-street. Mr. Lamb dated from *his committee-room*. The letters of thanks to the voters were all dated from *his committee-room*. The orders given were always given *in and by the committee*. There was a regular treasurer, Mr. Boyce Combe, who drew for the electioneering funds, placed in the hands of Harries and Co. There was always a sitting chairman; and Mr. Macdonald himself gave himself out to be the ostensible chairman, in the newspapers, and in the very first handbill; all of which were signed "*JAMES MACDONALD, Chairman*." Chairman of what? of the *no committee*. Mr. Dixon Holmes, on the trial, swore that *he was secretary to Mr. Lamb's central committee*. That Mr. Macdonald, upon oath, should have made such an assertion, may prove his loyalty to his party; but as for the trifling moralities which it infringes, they must be strangers to the man who adventures such singular practices. The defence, however, as far as the main cause is concerned, is just such as the Reformers must have desired. **THE HIRING BY THE WHIGS WAS CONFESSED BY THE WHIG-HIRER.** *That which the Whigs dared the Reformers to prove, was proved by the Whigs.* We must not forget to mention here, that the evidence was rather extorted than volunteered. When Mr. Macdonald understood that he was to be subpoenaed by the Reformers, he affected surprise; he made no small effort to prevent the subpoena from being served upon him; and, at last, actually left town just previously to the trials, no person at his house knowing where he was going; but his route was traced, and he was followed by a gentleman of the Reformers' committee and the attorney for the defendants, who not only served the subpoena upon him, but gave him plainly to understand, that the Reformers were in possession of certain proofs that he, *James Macdonald*, had been the actual hirer of Bond and his ruffians. Mr. Macdonald was favored with a sight of the following letter, which had come into the possession of the Reformers:—

" To JAMES MACDONALD, Esq.

" Sir,—As I did not receive any counter instructions from the Committee on Monday evening, I employed *Eighty-five* men on Tuesday to attend the Hustings. —Forty men under the command of Masterman, Twenty-four under Sadler, and Twenty-one under Milwood and Brewer. These men have not been paid;

though they regularly attended as ordered on Tuesday. I humbly hope you will take this into consideration, and furnish me with the means of satisfying these men. *I engaged them at your particular request*, through the recommendation of Mr. Spring, and hope you will not suffer them to put their threat into execution, of troubling me for their money, as two of them have already done; for by this step they will deprive me of my situation, which will be the ruin of myself and family.

"I am, Sir, with every sentiment of respect,

"Your most humble Servant,

"W. BOND,

"Public Office, Bow-street.

"Tuesday, March 9, 1819."

The reader will easily imagine the confusion of Mr. Macdonald on being so disagreeably interrupted; but we must do that gentleman the justice to say that he put a good face upon the matter, and promised to tell the whole truth when examined. We have disposed of the *No Committee* assertion—a word or two on the other parts of Mr. Macdonald's evidence, which as he was a witness called by Defendants, Defendants' Counsel could not by the rules of evidence make to invalidate his own testimony, or Mr. Macdonald would have been not a little exposed, in spite of the encouraging smiles of the Lord C. J. Abbott. Mr. Macdonald said he hired those men to keep the peace, and, strange enough, Lord Chief Justice Abbott seemed to approve this hiring. A Lord Chief Justice is then reminded by a young Counsel that there is an Act of Parliament in direct opposition, and forbidding this hiring of peace-keepers!!! But we have more to say on this head. Those hired by Bond to hire others (and they amounted to 122) positively swore that they were hired to *hiss and hoot round the Hustings when Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse spoke*. Is this a way to keep the peace? But why to keep the peace? Had the peace been broken? Mr. Macdonald says he heard some of Mr. Lamb's voters hooted, and saw them maltreated on voting for the Whig Candidate. We are loath to contradict a gentleman, especially a gentleman upon oath, but beyond the hissing we do profess our utter disbelief of any such maltreatment. The fact would have been generally known; but was there ever the slightest disturbance—any disturbance recorded by the papers as occurring at or near the Hustings until the first Saturday of the Election, when Mr. Lamb's friend had hired the Brown Bear party? We say positively *not*—and we aver that we know that Mr. Macdonald's object, and that of the Whigs, in hiring their party and the other parties afterwards, was to prevent the Reformers from being heard, and so to serve as a counterpoise to the hisses and hootings with which Mr. Lamb was regaled by the people. *Waller*, a witness on the trials, positively swore that the directions given to him by Bond had *nothing to do with the protection of Mr. Lamb's voters*. But we had even a better evidence than Waller, for Mr. Lee the High Constable was in Court, and would have proved, had the course of the Trial allowed him to be called, that on the morning of the close of the

Poll, he went to Mr. Lamb's Committee Room, and told them that if they did not dismiss their bludgeon-men, there would be a disturbance; and added, that if they wanted additional Constables, which they did not, he would procure them at the Thames Police; and the hired men being dismissed, he would be answerable for the preservation of the peace. Mr. Lee would have proved that which all Westminster knew—that there had been no disturbance whatever previously to the Whigs hiring their gangs, and that he attributed the whole disturbance to the hired gangs; and yet Mr. Dixon Holmes, Secretary to the No-Committee, and Mr. Macdonald, Chairman to the No-Committee, chose to swear that protection was wanting for their voters—that apprehension was entertained they would not be allowed to poll on the last days of the Election—and that the bludgeon-men were hired solely as Constables, and for want of Constables.

Perhaps the reader may wish to know why Mr. Bond's men were not paid. Mr. Secretary Holmes says in his evidence, he was instructed not to pay them because they had "not performed what they were hired for." We must do Bond the justice to say that there was only one regular fighting man, Dolly Smith, in his gang, and we may now tell what the complaint was against Bond. Here will be introduced a worthy Whig Coadjutor of Mr. James Macdonald, one Captain Prescott, who made his political debut at the last Westminster Election. This Captain hunted in the same couple with Mr. Macdonald, and he it was that dismissed Bond and his 122. But what for? Was it for not keeping the peace? Bond and his unpaid myrmidons thought not, for Captain Prescott's alleged complaint was—that they had *done nothing*. "*half a dozen good men would lick 'em all.*" These were his very words, as would have been sworn to if the evidence had proceeded. Reader, recollect Mr. James Macdonald's *oath* that he hired the men for Constables, to keep the peace!!!

Singular, however, must it seem, that the best description of man for a *Whig Constable* should be a downright ruffian,* and still more singular must it seem that the Bow-street men who were employed in this way should be so little conscious that it was in the way of keeping the peace that Bond intreated not to be brought forward, as he was sure of being dismissed for being so employed;† and one Sadler, another Bow-street Officer, in order to conceal his share in such peace-keeping, actually changed his name, and chose to call himself Smith.‡

* In the evening of the last Saturday before the close of the Election, the Whig agents went to a Public House by the waterside in Scotland Yard, resorted to by coal-porters, and other men who work upon the wharfs; they put pots of beer upon all the tables, and then "*sung out who will have five shillings a day, beer and gin, to be a ***** good ruffian at the hustings.*"

† In fact, he was for this very conduct suspended from his office.

‡ This Sadler was one of the evidences subpoenaed, and stopped by the course of the proceeding.

Giles W. Waller seems also to have entertained different views of the object which his Whig-hirers pretend to have had in view. The reader will recollect his evidence—he will recollect that Waller's notion of his employment, was, that he, Bond, and Co. (for he was one of the 122) were to attend at the south end of the Hustings—that “he would easily know the party there,”—(indeed it was impossible not to recognise such ruffians)—that they were to *prevent Voters for Hobhouse and assist those for Lamb*—that they were to *huzza Lamb*, but, when Hobhouse spoke, *make the most discordant noises possible*;—that he, Waller, was so disgusted at the people employed and the employment required, that he declined acting in the field, but consented to act as Clerk to Bond, and to make out fair copies of men's names to be given in to Mr. Macdonald and Captain Prescott;—that he accordingly did make out the said lists, went with Bond to Lamb's General Committee Room, and saw that Bond had received the money of Captain Prescott and Mr. Macdonald, 5*l.* from Prescott, 6*l.* from Macdonald, and assisted in paying the 122 men;—that for this employment he was to receive what Bond called a Captain's pay, seven shillings a day;—that he was taken to one Taplin's, at the Ship, in James-street, Covent Garden, and there saw the gangs receive money and drink;—that he was still disgusted with his employment, and after acting on the last Monday and Tuesday of the Election,* declined any further aid. Moreover, that on

* The reader may not object to see one of the accounts drawn up by Waller for Bond, delivered into the Whig Committee:—

CASH RECEIVED:			CASH PAID:		
	£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.
February 27. Mr Macdonald	5	0 0	Paid for Crib and Self	0	6 0
28. Mr. Prescott	5	0 0	Ditto .. Masterman	0	14 0
March 1. Of Ditto	6	0 0	Ditto .. Milwood's party	6	10 0
2. Mr. Macdonald	11	0 0	Ditto .. Dolly Smith's ditto	2	18 0
			Ditto .. Masterman's ditto	10	7 0
	£ 27	0 0	Ditto .. Sadler's ditto	6	3 0
			Ditto .. at the Ship, in		
			James-street, for refresh-	1	11 9
			ment		
			Perry's Bill as delivered	4	3 0
			Bond's extra expenses	2	0 0
			Paid 5 Captains 2 <i>s.</i> extra	0	10 0
			each		
			Wm. Brown and party	3	0 0
				38	12 9
			Cash received	27	0 0
			Due to me, Wm. Bond,	£ 11	12 9

Tuesday afternoon (March 2) he learnt from Bond that he had not been able to procure all the money, and Bond desired him to tell this to the men employed under Bond; this he did at half-past four, after the Hustings' business was over, at Taplin's, the Ship. The men were furious—they swore that as he had written their names down, *he should pay them, or they would knock out his brains*. He slipt away under pretence of finding Bond, and the gang becoming outrageous at his not returning, *actually broke Taplin's windows*.*

And yet these mild persons, who disgusted Waller so much, were of a quiet profession, being chiefly watermen, dustmen, coal-heavers, and costermongers, in comparison with the *peace-keepers* provided chiefly by Mr. Macdonald's Achates, Captain Prescott. This worthy Whig captain, it seems, went directly to the best man of the profession; one whom Sir M. Maxwell's friends had already made familiar with Electioneering duties, and who was as willing to hoist the buff and blue standard as he had been to parade the orange colours of the court. This was Caleb Stephen Ramsbottom, alias Caleb Baldwin. The man made no secret of his employment, and volunteered the intelligence, which, had the evidence proceeded, he would have shewn in court. Caleb Baldwin then stated, that Captain Prescott himself came to him at *twelve o'clock* one night at the beginning of the Election, when he was in bed, at his residence in Duck-lane, Westminster, and told him to *hire about a dozen men to begin with*; that he was kept on himself during the whole of the Election, but that his men were employed only one day;—that the *three or four last days* of the Election he was employed to act as a sort of aid-de camp, and walked to and fro from the Hustings to the Brown Bear, *to keep the gangs to their duty*;—that on the last day they wanted him to lead 50 Irish, but he refused, and chose *rather* to act as superintendant general. That Tom Reynolds (the fighting man) took the command of the Irish legion in his stead; and that Tom acted also as Clerk at the Brown Bear, where all the fighting men were paid; and that he, Caleb Baldwin, saw 36l. paid the last time he was there. That he saw Graves, the landlord of the Brown Bear, pay Dolly Smith, the boxer, and that there was still about 7l. due to himself, Caleb Baldwin, for services during the Election. It always should be remembered, that Mr. Macdonald swore the men were hired, for want of constables, to keep the peace!!!

That honest Caleb was well seconded, will be seen, when we mention that the persons assisting in chief were Hopping Ned, Tom Cribb, Randall, Elias Sprey, the fighting coppersmith, the fighting Black, Bill Copley, (who had 25 men under him, and received 20s. per diem for ten days of the Election), Bill

* Taplin was subpoenaed to prove this fact. He did not bring his action against the hundred, as may be well imagined. Since the actions commenced, a meeting was held at the Brown Bear, Bow-street, and these scandalous accounts were adjusted. Nathaniel Graves, the landlord, was subpoenaed in proof.

Gibbons, Paddington Jones, Ikey Wood, and others of less note, but of the same peaceable stamp—conducted by the said Caleb, and having for second leader and paymaster, Tom Reynolds.* Again we entreat the reader to remember, that Mr. Macdonald himself, and Mr. Lamb, both at the Hustings and after the Election, and that the Whigs in the Chronicle, and on their placards, charged the Reformers with *organising a force*, and totally denied such a practice on their own parts. We beg him to remember, that the Trial was contrived by the Whigs in order to throw the rioting on the Reformers, and to defy the Reformers to make good their “scandalous assertion,” that the *Whigs had hired a party of bludgeon-men!!!*

It has been already said, that the Whigs having at first pretended that they courted investigation, and sillily believing that perhaps the Reformers would not think it worth while to defend the actions, when they saw how matters were likely to turn out, shifted their ground altogether; and their Counsel, Scarlett, did his utmost to stifle the investigation in its birth, by insisting that the acts of the Committee ought not to be given in evidence until Mr. Wishart had been by evidence connected with the Committee and its acts. Mr. Counsel Scarlett’s adroitness was reduced to the simple phrase—“*I object to that*”—“*I object to that*”—“*I object to that*”—and the three qualifications of an orator—*action, action, action*—were, in Mr. Counsel Scarlett’s hand, converted into three repetitions of another resource—*objection, objection, objection*. And yet the Whigs had dared the Reformers to the proof. It was merely accidental that so much of the evidence, as was sufficient to disgrace the Whigs, and completely prove the hiring, was offered to come out by the mouth of Waller, previously to the proof of the plaintiff, Wishart, being a Committee-man. A crowd of other witnesses were in court, had the boasted investigation been allowed to proceed—all corroborative of the same fact. But Mr. Macdonald, who, as Counsel Scarlett said, *did not come out of Norfolk for nothing*, allowed the fact of his having hired Bond; and, “*not being come out of Norfolk for nothing*,” then swore that the hired gang, in which were included Caleb Baldwin, Tom Reynolds, Hopping Ned, Paddington Jones, Dolly Smith, Cribb, Randall, Elias Sprey, the fighting Black, alias Day and Martin, Cropley, Bill Gibbons, and Ikey Wood, were hired by the Whigs *to keep the peace!!!* “Come out of Norfolk for nothing?”—Indeed he did not come out of Norfolk for nothing * * * * *

Mr. Counsel Scarlett said—“it (the hiring of the ruffians) was a measure taken to prevent the riot and confusion which was caused by the rabble, and which prevented Mr. Lamb’s voters from going to the Hustings—that was the sole purpose—I say it was a legal and a laudable purpose. It is plain if they had meant to make a riot or any obstruction, they would have sent

* Reynolds, as well as others, was subpoenaed in proof.

"them to the north end of the Hustings, whereas you see the north end was left entirely to Mr. Hobhouse's voters. If Mr. Macdonald had meant to breed a riot, he would have sent them to the north end. The last day it was found that Mr. Bond had not done his duty, and it was determined that he should not have any more money than what he had received for the first day. The meaning of not having done his duty, I take to be this—that the people were not so much protected as they should have been."

We cannot quarrel with Mr. Scarlett for having, like lawyer Scut, "a proper regard for his fee"—nor for following his brief. The Counsel, in order to denote his own personal entire ignorance of facts, said, indeed, in the cause *"Jewel versus Belshaw,"* that "he did not know whether Mr. Hobhouse had been chaired or not." No wonder then we find in these few sentences so many downright falsities. No. 1—the protection of Lamb's voters the sole cause of hiring—*false*; hired to hiss and hoot Mr. Hobhouse: nothing said about protecting voters. No. 2—"rabble prevented Lamb's voters getting to the Hustings"—*false*; no disturbance whatever until the first hiring day. No. 3—"a legal and laudable purpose." Not legal—against Act of Parliament—laudable—*yes*, in the eyes of a Whig. No. 4—"rioters sent only to south end—never to north end"—*false*. The Whig rioters came repeatedly to the north end. Mr. Hobhouse was obliged to be protected going to the Hustings—the hissers and hooters were some of them just opposite to him on the Hustings. No. 5—"Bond and party turned off for not protecting the people"—*false*; say, "for not breaking the people's heads;" or, as Captain Prescott said, "because a dozen good men would lick 'em all." But we repeat, "a lawyer should always have a proper regard for his fee." Mr. Scarlett's opinion about Sir Francis Burdett being the greatest enemy to Reform, will be worth listening to, when it shall be proved that Mr. Scarlett is the greatest friend to Reform.

And here we have to observe, that although the Lord Chief Justice was perhaps right in insisting on the previous connexion of the plaintiff, Wishart, with the Whigs, who were proved in court actually to have hired the fighting men, yet his Lordship had no right in the world to encourage Mr. Macdonald in his extraordinary account of the object and reason for which the Whigs hired the *peace-makers*, Caleb Baldwin and Company. Nor was he justified by the law of the land, as we have already remarked, in stating that the said hiring was allowable, the object being to keep the peace. What made his Lordship still more incorrect, and, if we may say, decidedly partial, in his conduct, was the circumstance, with which he was well acquainted, that, as Mr. Macdonald's evidence, according to the course pursued, would naturally close the Trial, the defendants would not have the opportunity of calling their witnesses, *then in court*, to show that the rioting had been committed and commenced by the bludgeon-men hired by the Whigs. Five or six witnesses, and there might have been fifty, were subpoenaed, and would have clearly proved that the original rioters were Whig rioters—many of them wearing buff

and blue colours, crying out "Lamb for ever," and knocking down, *without provocation*, all those suspected of favouring the Reform candidate. Of the witnesses, some had themselves been assailed; one was, together with another voter, severely beaten by Mr. Macdonald's *extra constables*, for polling for Hobhouse. Very many of the Electors themselves, witnesses of the atrocious scenes, and present at the Trial, were perfectly astounded at Mr. Macdonald's stating that the boxers were hired to keep the peace, and that the peace had been first broken by the populace. Mr. Lee, the High Constable, a respectable, an able, and an impartial man, who was also in court, but could not be examined, because the Whigs chose to stop the investigation * which they had chosen to begin, must have been peculiarly surprised; and, when the Counsel for the defendants asked Mr. Macdonald whether he recollected Mr. Lee having on the last day of the Election warned the Whig Committee to dismiss their gangs, Mr. Lee must, we presume, have smiled to hear Mr. Macdonald profess his recollection did not serve him as to that advice. †

As Mr. Counsel Scarlett put his case to the Jury, and only stated that *Mr. Wishart did not hire the mob to break his own windows*; and as the extraordinary oath, that there was no committee, seemed to cut off all connexion between the actual bludgeon hirers, *Messrs. Macdonald and Prescott*, we are not at all surprised at the finding of the Jury. The public, however, will have observed with satisfaction, that these excellent individuals, notwithstanding Mr. Macdonald's strange evidence, notwithstanding Mr. Counsel Scarlett's repeated speeches, notwithstanding Chief Justice Abbott would hardly allow deliberation, but in a manner almost unprecedented, prevented them from going out; yet they did presume to hesitate; they saw that some of the men hired by the Whigs had actually broken the windows of the house where they were assembled, because they were not paid, having been such poor creatures.

* Mr. Scarlett, in his speech, reduced the plaintiff's case to this—"all we say is, we did not hire a mob to break our own windows." This was altering the tone indeed. The Whig Counsel did not dare to stop where it was said he would stop—he did not dare to say, "all we say is, we did not hire a mob." It was proved they *did* hire a mob.

† We are anxious to repeat Mr. Lee's statement: Mr. Lee's statement was this—that Mr. Lamb and his friends were ill used during all the Election, *as far as hissing and hooting went, but NOTHING MORE*;—that he strongly deprecated the employment of the *desperate gangs under the fighting men with Lamb's colours*; and that on the "morning of the last day of the Election he earnestly requested that they might be withdrawn, urging, that he, and his men could keep the peace if they were withdrawn, *but not else*; that he had sufficient force under him, and would have obtained more if he wanted it— and, finally, that in his opinion, all the mischief which occurred was owing "to the employment of these gangs."

that "a dozen good men would lick 'em all." They thought it then possible, that some of these men might have been amongst the rioters that broke Wishart's windows—this made them hesitate; and Mr. Scarlett carefully brought the whole force of his argument to shew that, supposing the men under Bond were hired, (as had been proved,) and supposing they had broken the windows of one house (as had been proved,) yet no proof had been brought to show that Bond's men had broken Wishart's windows; or if they had, that Bond's men were paid by Wishart to break his own windows. Putting the case in that way, it was not easy to hesitate long about the verdict; but the hesitation proved that the Jury, as well as every body else, perfectly understood the actual state of the case. It shows that they saw, distinctly, that the Whigs had hired ruffians; that the origin of the disturbances was imputable to these ruffians; and that they gave their verdict for the Plaintiff, solely because it could not technically be shewn, that he had hired men to break his own windows.

Little need be said of the action, Lord Sefton *versus* the same Defendants. It was in this trial that Mr. Counsel Scarlett *objected* to every thing. The difficulty of connecting his Lordship with the bludgeon-hirers, Macdonald and Freacott, was of course as great as before with Mr. Wishart. Mr. Scarlett thought there had been exposure enough of his Whig friends, and he diverted the attention to himself. His comparison of "The House that Jack Built," with "the mob the Whigs hired," was wit of that ingenious kind which sets the Bar in a roar, and is particularly becoming in Mr. Scarlett, who, however, was equally successful in another mood, when he wrung tears from the iron-cheeked electors of Lewes,* who would give him any thing but their votes. He is, we are given to understand—

Affectum lenis at potens dominator, sive risus essent movendi, sive lacrymæ.

But as for his "House that Jack Built," we have to inform him, that had the Westminster petition proceeded, his friend and client Lord Sefton would have been found to have *built a house* for himself, such as would have required more than all Counsellor Scarlett's abilities to extricate him from.

It only remains for us in the name of the Electors of Westminster, friends to Reform, to express our grateful thanks to the Counsel, Messrs. Blackburne and Evans, for their successful efforts in behalf of the Defendants; or, to speak more correctly, of the great cause, which they had the courage to advocate. We say the courage—for, in a profession, of which not only all the honors, but all the emoluments, are in the hands either of the Party *in*, or of the Party *out*, of power; it is almost too much to expect that there should be found a single individual who will declare himself an independent man decidedly hostile to

* See the Morning Chronicle account of how Mr. Scarlett took leave of the Lewes Electors—how they wept! how he was affected!

all political combinations against the interests and the rights of the People at large. When Mr. Tooke pleaded his own cause in the action in which Mr. Fox was the Plaintiff, he stated that he had taken that step, because he did not think it fair to expose any Gentleman at the Bar to the necessity of uttering sentiments injurious to his interests. What was true then is true now, and whatever may be the real sentiments of the many well educated men who compose the learned profession, the commanding advantages held out to them by the one party, and the *apparent* liberality displayed, and *real* private encouragement obtained, by becoming a partisan of the other set of politicians, must divide the whole body between the Tories and the Whigs; and leave scarcely a single free and unshackled legal patriot to remind us that the lawyers of former ages were ranked amongst the first and foremost guardians of public liberty.

FINIS.

